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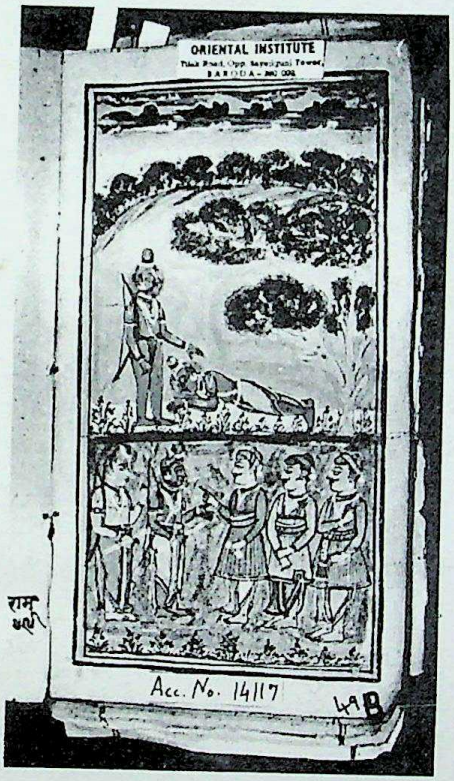

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PARALLELISM IN INTERPRETING THE VEDA

S. K. LAL*

In a well-known *Ṛk*[1], *Ṛṣi* Dīrghatamā exhorts that one must know the meaning of the Vedic *Ṛks* with a view to understanding the nature of the gods who dwell in the highest heaven sitting on the imperishable (seat of) *Ṛks*. Since then immense efforts have been made to understand the *Veda* by ancient and modern scholars.

The Vedas are not the creations of individual *Ṛṣi*-poets in isolation from each other. They are the conscious and concerted works of the *Ṛṣi*-poets who were well aware of fellow poets' poetic creations. The Vedas were widely recited and understood by a large section of Vedic society, particularly the priestly elite class. In this connection, the words *vidatha* (Ṛv 2.1.16, etc.)[2] and *vājin* (ṚV 10.71.5, etc.),[3] frequently found in Vedic literature, are significant. *Vidatha* was a kind of meeting place within the ambience of Vedic rites and rituals, where *Ṛṣi*-poets of older generation (*pratnāsaḥ*)[4] and younger ones (*nūtanāsaḥ*)[5], and also Vedic intelligentsia used to meet, listen, discuss, and exchange views, and where *Ṛṣi*-

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1. ऋचो अक्षरे परमे व्योमन् यस्मिन् देवा अधि विश्वे निषेदुः ।
   यस्तन्न वेद किमृचा करिष्यति य इत् तद् विद्वस्त इमे समासते ॥ ṚV 1.164.39
2. *Bṛhad vadema vidahte suvīrāḥ*
3. उत त्वं सख्ये स्थिरपीतमाहुर्नैनं हिन्वन्त्यपि वाजिनेषु । ṚV 10.71.5
4. ṚV 4.2.16; 5.8.1; 6.21.5.
5. ṚV 6.21.5; 27.1; 2.

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poets recited their poetic works. In this connection[6], Gonda's remark, "the audience knew to whom the events narrated (in the Vedas) were to be associated", is note-worthy.

Many times, one comes across a word or a phrase which apparently does not give out clear meaning. Some times the segregation of some passages from the main theme and their isolated and independent usages elsewhere pose difficulty in the meaning. In such cases, parallel passages of identical nature or mythological legends help to a great extent in deciding the meaning which otherwise is not clear. Vedic poetry is a coherent and well-knit work of *Ṛṣi*-poets who, it appears, were well conversant with other poetic creations.

In this light, we take up a few verses from the *Veda* and see how parallelism helps in understanding the meaning. It may be pointed out that there must have been some kind of norms or even theories which were followed by the *Ṛṣi*-poets.[7] Secondly, in order to interpret the *Veda*, one must have a holistic approach and look at the *Veda* in totality, as it seems, the Vedic *Ṛṣi*-poets themselves had.

ṚV 2.13.9 reads :

शतं वा यस्य दशं साकमाद्य एकस्य श्रुष्टौ यद्ध चोदमाविथ ।
अरज्जौ दस्यून् त्समुनब्दभीतये सुप्राव्यो अभवः सास्युक्थ्यः ॥

What do that numerals *śatam, daśa* in the *Ṛk* indicate ? Secondly, Ludwing changes the reading *vā yasya* in the verse into *dāsasya*. Following him, Griffith translates the verse as :

'You bound up the Dāsa's hundred friends and ten, when, at one's hearing, thou helpest your worshipper. You for Dabhīti bound Dasyus not with cords, you were a mighty help; worthy of lauds you are.'

This translation is not convincing, because, firstly he opines that the words *vā yasya* in the verse are unintelligible, and following Ludwing, he changes *vā yasya* to *dāsasya*. Secondly, he supplies 'friends' to explain *śataṁ daśa*, for which there is no word in the verse.

Now, going back to our *śatam daśa* in ṚV 2.13.9 which does not have a noun to qualify, how does one understand *śataṁ daśa*. It is Sāyaṇa, the 'scholar extra ordinary' who borrows the word *harayaḥ* (horses) from ṚV 6.47.18 to explain *śataṁ daśa*. Sāyaṇa with his very deep and comprehensive knowledge of the Vedas has convincingly explained it as

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6. Gonda J. : *Ellipsis "Brachylogy and other forms of brevity in speech in the Rgveda"*, VKNHAW - Letterkunde, n.r. 67 (4), Amsterdom, 1960, 25.

7. See the Select Bibliography.

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follows :

हे इन्द्र एकस्य एकाकिनः श्रेष्ठस्य वा यस्य ते श्रुष्टौ सुखनिमित्ते तदर्थं शतं दश दशशतानि हरयो वाहनार्थं भवन्ति । तथा च मन्त्रवर्णः - 'इन्द्रो मायाभिः पुरुरूप ईयते युक्ता ह्यस्य हरयः शता दश' (RV 6.47.18)

It may be pointed out that *śataṁ daśa,* without a noun, occurs in the second *maṇḍala* (2.13.9) and *śatā daśa* with the noun *harayaḥ* occurs in the sixth *maṇḍala* (6.47.18). It is the great knowledge of Sāyaṇa who has supplied the word *harayḥ* from 6.47.18 to explain *śatā daśa* in 2.13.9. Thus, following Sāyaṇa, the verse may be translated as follows :

"O Indra, for your complete pleasure, a thousand horses are ready (to be yoked to your chariot)....".

But how did the Vedic *Ṛṣi*-poets know that *śatā daśa* in the second *maṇḍala* without a noun would be understood as *śatā daśa harayaḥ* in the sixth *maṇḍala* by two different *Ṛṣis* (Gṛtsamada and Bhāradvāja respectively)? The answer is the same : *vidatha* which was a meeting place for the *Ṛṣi*-poets and which enabled them to know each other's poetic creations. What decides the meaning of *śatā daśa* in the second *maṇḍala* is the awareness of the *Ṛṣi*-poet of *śatā daśa harayaḥ* in the sixth *maṇḍala.* Thus parallel usage of *śatā daśa harayaḥ* helps to explain *śatā daśa* (without a noun). Sāyaṇa took the help of the parallel passage, but Ludwing and Griffith did not. Hence, these scholars changed *vā yasya* to *dāsasya* and supplied 'friends' to explain the words *śatā daśa.* The poet in the first half of the *Ṛk* is not talking about the hundred and ten 'friends' of *Dāsa* (that he does in the second half of the *Ṛk*) but Indra's great chariot yoked with a thousand horses, who is always ready to come to the succour of those who needed it.

Adjective as substantive :

Parallelism also helps in understanding the meaning of adjectives which are often used without substantives and which themselves function as substantives.[8] The adjective *śyāvāḥ* (dark coloured) has been used in *ṚV* 1.126.3 without a noun.

उप मा श्यावाः स्वनयेन दत्ता वधूमन्तो दश रथासो अस्थुः ।

In *ṚV* 8.46.22, a feminine form of *śyāva,* i.e. *śyāvīnām* occurs :

दश श्यावीनां शता दश त्र्यरुषीणां दश गवां सहस्रा ॥

Here again without a noun.

In the first instance *śyāvāḥ* stands for *śyāvavarṇāḥ aśvāḥ* (dark coloured horses) and

8. Gonda, *op.cit.,* p. 17; Speyer J.S., *Sanskrit Syntax,* Leiden, 1886, 179f.

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in the second instance *śyāvīnām* stands for *śyāvavarṇām vaḍavānām* (of dark coloured mares). But, again, what is the basis for supplying *aśvāḥ* in the first instance and *vaḍavā* in the second? The adjective *śyāvīnām* occurs in the *ṚV* 8.46.22 cd. In the following *mantra* 8.46.23 ab, *śyāvāḥ* occurs with the substantive *āśavāḥ*.

दश॑ श्या॒वा ऋ॒धद्र॑यो वी॒तवा॑रास आ॒शवः॑ । म॒थ्नानेमिं॑ नि वा॑वृतुः ॥ ṚV 8.46.23

Sāyaṇa : दश दशसंख्याकाः श्यावाः श्यामवर्णाः आशवः अश्वाः नेमिं रथनेमिं नि वावृतुः निवर्तयन्ति । रथं वहन्तीत्यर्थः । ईदृशास्ते ऋधद्रयः प्रवृद्धवेगाः वीतवारासः क्रान्तबलाः प्राप्तबला वा आशवः मथ्ना मथनशीला..... ।

Hence on the parallelism of *śyāvāḥ āśavāḥ* in vs.23, one can understand *śyāvīnām* in the previous vs. 22 as *śyāvīnām vaḍavānām*. Both the words occur in the eighth *maṇḍala* and the *Ṛṣi* is the same, namely, Vaśa. But the case in ṚV 1.126.3, where *śyāvāḥ* occurs without a noun, is different. Here the *Ṛṣi* is Kakṣīvān. How did he know that his usage of *śyāvāḥ* without a noun would be understood as *śyāvaḥ* with *aśvāḥ* ? The answer lies in the same concept of *vidatha* and the *Ṛṣi*-poets' 'awareness of others' poetic works.

Similarly, the adjective *śyetāsaḥ* occurs, again without a substative, in the fifth *maṇḍala* :

वह॑न्तु मा॒ दश॒ श्येता॑सो अस्य गौरिक्षि॒तस्य॒ क्रतु॑भिर्नु संश्चे ॥ ṚV 5.33.8 cd

Here *daśa śyetāsaḥ* stands for *daśa śyetāsaḥ aśvāḥ*.

An interesting usages of the numeral *daśa* occurs in the *Śatarudrīya mantras* (VS 16.64-66)[9].

1. नमो॑ऽस्तु रु॒द्रेभ्यो॒ ये दि॒वि येषां॑ व॒र्षमिष॑वः । तेभ्यो॒ दश॒ प्राची॒र्दश॑ दक्षि॒णा दश॑ प्र॒तीची॒र्दशोदी॑ची॒र्दशो॒र्ध्वाः ....।
2. नमो॑ऽस्तु रु॒द्रेभ्यो॒ ये॒ऽन्तरि॑क्षे॒ येषां॒ वात॒ इष॑वः । तेभ्यो॒ दश॒ प्राची॒र्दश॑..... दध्मः ।
3. नमो॑ऽस्तु रु॒द्रेभ्यो॒ ये पृ॑थि॒व्यां येषा॒मन्न॒मिष॑वः । तेभ्यो॒ दश॒ प्राची॒र्दश॑..... दध्मः ।

The second part of the *mantra-tebhyo daśa prācīrdaśa dakṣiṇā daśa pratīcīrdaśodīcīrdaśodhvāḥ* is to be considered. What does the numeral *daśa*, which occurs here without a substantive, indicate ? Here again one has to take recourse to the parallel usages of *daśa* with or without a noun. The numeral *daśa* in the *Ṛgveda* has been used with the following words :

1. *Kṣipaḥ* (fingers)
   daśa kṣipaḥ (ten fingers) : ṚV 3.23.3, 5.43.4; etc.

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9. These three formulas form the concluding part of the *Śatarudrīya* litany.

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2. *Svasāraḥ* (sisters)
   daśa svasāraḥ (ten sisters : ten fingers) : ṚV 3.23.13; 9.1.7; etc.
3. *Yoṣaṇaḥ* (maidens)
   daśa yoṣaṇaḥ (ten maidens : ten fingers) : ṚV 9.6.5; 56.3; etc.
4. *Haritaḥ* (green)
   daśa haritaḥ (ten green ones : ten fingers) : ṚV 9.39.3.
5. *Yuvatayaḥ* (maidens)
   daśa yuvatayaḥ (ten maidens : ten directions) : ṚV 1.95.2
6. *Dhītayaḥ*
   daśa dhītayaḥ (ten intelligent ones : ten fingers)

ṚV 1.144.5 (cf. 1.141.2).

The above data reveals that the numeral daśa has been used in the *Ṛgveda* with the substantives *kṣip, svasṛ, yosaṇ, harit,* and *dhīti,* all of which mean 'finger' metaphorically. In Vedic sacrifices, ten fingers are employed for pressing Soma and churning Agni. In this connection, there seems to be a set pattern in using the numeral *daśa.* It is found that *daśa* with *svasāraḥ* and *yoṣaṇaḥ* and *ksipaḥ* refers to Soma pressing. And *daśa* with *yuvatayaḥ* and *dhītayaḥ* refers to Agni. The words *svasāraḥ, yuvatayaḥ, yoṣaṇaḥ, dhītayaḥ,* etc. in the proximity of *daśa* mean 'ten fingers'. Once this meaning had been established, it was widely used and understood, so much so that the numeral *daśa* became as if infused with the meaning 'fingers', and the *Ṛṣi*-poets often used *daśa* to mean fingers without actually using a word for 'fingers'.

Now, on this data let us go back to VS 16.64-66. The context here is the pacification of Rudra by reciting the *Śatarudrīya mantras* after the fire altar has been completely built. While the *Śatarudrīya* recitation is coming to the end, the *Adhvaryu,* who recites it, while reciting the concluding three *mantras* under consideration, folds his two hands, and continuing with the recitation, turns to the East, to the South, to the West, to the North, and then raises both his folded hands upward. Therefore, *daśa* in the *mantra* refers to ten fingers of his both hands raised up in salutation. This can be understood only by the help of parallel occurrences which the word *daśa* has been used, or if a person is actually watching the *Śatarudrīya* performance.

Conclusion

The structure of Vedic poetry has certain set patterns which were accepted

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and adopted by the *Ṛṣi*-poets in general. They were well conversant with other's poetic works.

Parallelism is such a device that helps in understanding the meaning of a word or a phrase or a verse. In this connection, it may be pointed out that it is different from the concept of *sannidhi* of Bhartṛhri (VākyaP 2.317;18)[10].

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10. As an example of *sannidhi*, the following *Ṛk* may be quoted:

अश्नापिनद्धं मधु पर्यपश्यन्मत्स्यं न दीन उदनि क्षियन्तम् ।
निष्टज्जभार चमसं न वृक्षाद् बृहस्पतिर्विरवेणा विकृत्य ॥ *RV* 10.68.8

Mark the word *madhu* in the ṚV. *Madhu* normally means, 'sweet, honey, soma juice, milk' etc. None of these is appropriate here. The meaning of the word can be ascertained only on the proximity of the words *aśnā, apinaddham, paryapaśyan,* and Bṛhaspati which refer to the legend: Bṛhaspati who rescued the cows from Bala. Madhu therefore means in the *Ṛk* '*madhu* (milk) possessing cows' : an example of metanomy.

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THE ṚJUBHĀṢYA ON THE ŚUKLA YAJURVEDA

M. L. WADEKAR* & MILIND JOSHI*

Introductory :

The text of the *Śukla Yajurveda* in the *Mādhyandina* Recension constitutes forty *adhyāyas*, incorporating *Mantras* dealing with several *Śrauta* Sacrifices. The *adhyāya* thirty first contains the philosophical *Puruṣasūkta* and the last fortieth *adhyāya* is the foremost *Īśāvāsyopaniṣad.* The text of this recension is commented upon by Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara- the great commentators, whose commentaries on the said text have been published.[1] There is also an allusion to a commentary called *Ṛjuvyākhyāna,* but, it is not yet given much attention to by scholars. A Manuscript of fragmentary nature is available in the Oriental Institute of Baroda. The present study in this article is based upon the same. We have also tried to present the text of the commentary as is available in the said single, rare Manuscript.

The Rare Manuscript :

The Oriental Institute of Baroda has a huge collection of 28,000 Manuscripts. Of them, Several Manuscripts on different subjects, are quite rare, and unique, forming - sometimes even *Codex-Unicum.* The work under discussion is also one of such commentaries found in a rare and unique manuscript. The work *Ṛjuvyākhyāna* is available in manuscript no. 10,600 of Oriental Insitute. It is a manuscript having 27 folios, written in *Devanāgarī* script, forming about 500 *granthas.* The fragmentary folios of the manuscript do not contain commentary on the entire *Śukla Yajurveda* but only on the *adhyāyas* 29, 30, 31, 38, 39 (Incomplete) and 40 of text that too not in a good condition. The commentary on the *adhyāya* 39 is only upto the sixth mantra while the text of the commentary of the available *adhyāyas* is also much damaged. There are 36 letters to a line and 9 lines to a page or one side of the folio. The handwriting also is not much good but is readable. There is no

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1. Panshikar, Vasudev Laxman (ed.) : *Śukla Yajurveda Saṁhitā (Śrīmad Vājasaneyi Mādhyandina)* with the *Mantrabhāṣya* of Mahāmahopādhyāya Śrīmad Uvaṭācārya and the Vedadīpabhāṣya of Śrīman Mahīdhara. (with Appendices and *Mantrakośa*), Second Edition, Published by Pandurang Jawaji, Proprietor of the "Nirnaya sagara" Press, Bombay, 1929.

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use of *avagraha* sign. The scribe has always written छ for च्छ, स्छ for त्थ. There is much use of *pṛṣṭhamātrā*. The red pigment is utilized to mark the *lemma* of the text of the *Saṁhitā* and corrections are made by *pr.m.* The complete manuscript of the work is hitherto not known.

The post colophon entry[2] of the Manuscript gives us the authentic information about the date of the scribe and the manuscript. It is mentioned there that the manuscript was copied in *Saṁvat* 1564 (1508 A.D.), on the 14th day of the bright half of *Fālguna* month. Mālaji may be the name of the scribe, who might have hailed from Gujarat, as the date is mentioned in *Vikrama Saṁvat.*

The Commentator :

The colophons of the available *adhyāyas* of the text mention the title simply as *'Ṛjubhāṣye Saṁhitāyām'*, *'Ṛjuvyākhyāyām Saṁhitāyām'*, *'Ṛjuvyākhyāne Saṁhitāyām'* or simply *'Mantrabhāṣye'*, but no more information about the commentator is available. Pt. Shridhara Shastri Vare in his book *"Yājñavalkya Carita Vā Śuklayajurveda Vaidika Vāṅmaya Paricaya"* (Published by the author in 1936 at Nasik) gives some valuable information about the commentator, which throws some light on the name of the commentator, his date and home. According to this information, the commentator Gauradhara wrote the commentary named *Ṛjubhāṣya* on the *Śukla Yajurveda.* It is said to be known as *Vedavilāsa.* He might be a resident of Kashmir. Pt. Jagaddhara, the famous author of the *Stutikusumāñjali* and the commentator of the *Mālatīmādhava* was his grandson. In the last two verses of the *Stutikusumāñjali* of Jagaddhara, Gauradhara is stated to have written the *Ṛjuvyākhyā* on the *Śukla Yajurveda*[3].

पुरा पुरारेः पदधूलिधूसरः सरस्वतीस्वैरविहारभूरभूत् ।
विशालवंशश्रुतवृत्तिविश्रुतो विपश्चितां गौरधरः किलाग्रणीः ॥ १ ॥

अनन्तसिद्धान्तपथान्तगामिनः समस्तशास्त्रार्णवपारदृश्वनः ।
ऋजुर्यजुर्वेदपदार्थवर्णना व्यनक्ति यस्याद्भूतविश्रुतं श्रुतम् ॥ २ ॥

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2. इति ऋजुव्याख्याने संहितायां चत्वारिंशत्तमोध्यायः ॥ संवत् १५६४ फागुण शु १४ भूमे लिखि १०५ ॥ मालजी ॥ Oriental Institute MS. ACC. NO. 10600, Last folio.

3. Vare, Shridhar Shastri : *Yājñavalkya carita Vā Śuklayajurveda Vaidika Vāṅmaya Paricaya,* Published by Pt. Shridhar Shastri Vare, Nasik, 1936, *Uttarārdha,* p. 14 & 15.

Pandit Durgaprasad & Parab, Kashinath. P. (ed.) : *Stutikusumāñjali of Jagaddhara Bhaṭṭa,* with com. of Rajānaka Ratnakaṇṭha, Kavyamala Series No. 23, Nirnay Sagar Press, 1891, pp. 450-451.

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The commentator Ratnakaṇṭha explains this as follows[4] -

''तादृशस्य गौरधरस्य ऋजुर्निर्मला निर्दोषा च यजुर्वेदपदानामर्थवर्णना भाष्यपद्धतिर्वेदविलासनाम्नी यस्याद्भुतं विश्रुतं प्रसिद्धं श्रुतं व्यनक्ति प्रकटयति''

This shows that Gauradhara wrote a commentary *Vedavilāsa* also known as *Ṛjubhāṣya*. From this external evidence only, we can state that the present commentary is by Gauradhara but there is no mention of the name of this commentator anywhere in the available text of the commentary.

''Jagaddhara is believed to have flourished in c.1352 A.D., hence Gauradhara may be placed in a period 60 years before Jagaddhara'' writes Pt. Vareshastri.[5]

About Jagaddhara, the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, notes the following important information[6] -

Jagaddhara (Paṇḍita) of Kashmir (c. 1350-1400 A.D.) son of Rathadhara and grandson of Gauradhra and father of Yaśodhara (for whom he wrote the *Kātantravṛtti*); ref. to by his descendant Śitikaṇṭha (a. of c. on his gr. book).

— *Apaśabdanirākaraṇa*. gr. BORI. 271 of 1875-76. Report XVIII.

— C. *Bālabodhinī* on *Kātantravyākaraṇa* - Kashmir recension; written for his son Yaśodhara (14th Cent.) IO. 7879. Q. by Ratnakaṇṭha in his C. on *Stutikusumāñjali* 5.6. See NCC. III p 317 a.

— *Stutikusumāñjali*. *Stotra* on Śiva in 38 chs. containing 1409 verses. Ptd. K.M. 23. Q in Sbhv.

Moreover Pt. Siddheshwar Shastri Chitrav[7] also gives some details about Jagaddhara. He flourished in about 1350 A.D. His works are *Mālatīmādhavaṭīkā, Devīmāhātmyaṭīkā, Bhagavadagītāpradīpa, Rasadīpikā, Meghadūtaṭīkā, Tattvadīpinī, Vāsavadattāṭīkā, Veṇīsaṁhāraṭīkā*. Vidyādhara - the grandson of Jagaddhara - was contemporary of Pratāparudra (1296-1323 A.D.) who was foremost ruler of the Kākatīya dynasty of Andhara Pradesa. This determines the date of Jagaddhara.

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4. *Ibid, Uttarārdha*, p. 15. and *Stutikusumāñjali*, pp. 450-451.
5. *Ibid, Uttarārdha*, p. 15.
6. Raja Kunjunni K., *New Catalogus Catologrum*, University of Madras, 1973, Vol. 7, p. 131.
7. Chitrav Siddheshwar Shastri : *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa*, Bharatavarshiya Caritrakosha Mandal, Pune, p. 388.

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The Commentator's noteworthy remarks :

It is evident from the title of the commentory itself that it is a *ṛju* Commentary i.e. a stainless, faultless way of commenting, describing the meaning of the words of the *Yajurveda* - as explained by Ratnakaṇṭha. It is after all a simple, straightforward commentary without any conscious effort at exhibiting one's own scholarship in grammar or Vedas. However, even from the available protion of the commentary many a striking and noteworthy remark not found in the commentaries of Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara is met with. Some of them are noted below for the benefit of scholars in the field. These will be separately studied in a forthcoming article.

(१) जुषाणामिति विभक्तिव्यत्ययः ॥ २९/४ ॥

(२) तनूनपाच्छब्दः द्विरुदात्तः । आमन्त्रितत्वादाद्युदात्तः ॥ २९/२६ ॥

(३) नकारोऽयमुपमानार्थः ॥ २९/३० ॥

(४) मनुषः वीप्सालोपः ॥ २९/३२ ॥

(५) द्वितीयार्थे प्रथमा व्याख्यायते ॥ २९/३९ ॥

(६) 'ऊधसोनङ् धनुषश्चे'त्यनङादेशः ॥ २९/३९ ॥

(७) योषे योषा इति विभक्तिव्यत्ययः ॥ २९/४१ ॥

(८) अपेत्यव्ययम् ॥ २९/४४ ॥

(९) उक्तं च - केचित्त्रिपाच्छब्देनादित्यं वर्णयन्ति । स हि ऋग्यजुःसाममयः । यद्वा यद्योगिभिरात्मतत्त्वेन ध्येयम् । 'यदेतद्ब्रह्मापूर्वमनपरमनन्तरमबाह्यमयमात्मा ब्रह्म विज्ञानमानन्दं ब्रह्मे'त्येवमादिभिः वाक्यैः प्रतिपादितम् । तत्त्रिपाद्युक्तम् । ये गुणाः सत्यसंकल्पादयः ते दिवीत्युक्ताः ॥ ३१/३ ॥

(१०) अत्र बहून्यपत्यानि व्याख्यातानि विद्यन्ते ग्रन्थविस्तरभयान्नोच्यन्ते ॥ ३१/५ ॥

(११) विभक्तिव्यत्ययः आरण्यान् ग्राम्यांश्च यान् इति समञ्जसम् ।

(१२) तत्र श्रुतिः - 'यान्वैतां सप्तपुरुषानेकं पुरुषमकुर्वन्' । इत्युपक्रम्य 'स एतं लोकमगच्छदि'त्यभिधाय देवयज्ञेनैव यष्टुमद्रियन्त । तस्मादेतदृषिणाभ्यनूक्तं - 'यज्ञेन यज्ञमयजन्त देवा' इति ।

(१३) तदस्य ऊरू यद्वैश्यः यत्तदोर्व्यत्ययः । अस्य पुरुषस्य यौ ऊरू वैश्यः कृत आसीदित्यध्याहारः ॥ ३१/११ ॥

(१४) विपरीतोऽत्र करणमार्गः । चक्षोः सूर्यो अजायत । चक्षोरिति लिङ्गव्यत्ययः । श्रोत्राद्वायुश्च प्राणश्च । ननु प्राणाद्वायोरुत्पत्तिः श्रूयते । कथं एतत्पुरुषस्य सृजतः ? स्वेच्छया कार्यकारणभावः । मुखादग्निरजायत ॥ ३१/१२ ॥

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(१५) ते ह नाकं महिमानः सचन्त । कमिति सुखनाम । तदेकेन नञा प्रतिषिद्धम् । स द्वितीयेन पुनः प्रतिषिध्यते । सर्वत्रैव स किंचित्सुखं किंचित् दुःखम् । अत्र तु सुखमेव पुण्यकृतो गच्छन्ति ॥ ३१/१६ ॥

(१६) देवत्वेन विभक्तिव्यत्ययः ॥ ३१/१७ ॥

(१७) इषु इच्छायां रूपद्वयम् । कर्तरि विकरणव्यत्ययः ॥ ३१/१७ ॥

The above peculiar remarks not only point out his conscientious study of the *mantras*, but also his knowledge of grammar. It is also noteworthy, however, that in the available portion, there is a commentary on some *mantras*, which at times resembles Uvaṭa (c. 1100 A.D.) but never with Mahīdhara (c. 1700 A.D.). This resemblance may be due to identical tradition, which might have been transmitted through identical preceptor.

As the Manuscript and the commentary are quite rare & important and are in great demand from the scholars of the *Śukla Yajurveda*, the available portion is presented herewith for qunching the curiosity of scholars about the commentary.

शुक्लयजुर्वेदः - ऋजुभाष्यम्

एकोनत्रिंशोऽध्यायः ।

समिद्धो अञ्जन्कृदरं मतीनां घृतमग्ने मधुमत्पिन्वमानः ।
वाजी वहन्वाजिनं जातवेदो देवानां वक्षि प्रियमा सधस्थम् ॥ १ ॥

ॐ नमो श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

एकादशी त्रिष्टुप् ।*.....(damaged)[आह्यो नाराशंसः]

कथ्यो वामकथ्यो देव्योऽश्वो(बृहदुक्थो वामदेव्योऽश्वो) वा सामुद्रिरपश्यत् । अश्वस्तुतिः । आश्वमेधिको.....(damaged) यः [प्रागाग्नेयः] कृष्णग्रीव इति यावत् । हे भगवन्नग्ने समिद्धः संदीप्तः । समस्तं जगत् .....(damaged) [अञ्जन् व्यक्तीकुर्वन्] विशिष्टस्त्वं कृदरं मतीनां घृतं मधुमत्पिन्वमानः । मम नाम ग्रहीष्यतीत्ये.....(damaged)वतानां [तन्मतीनां विद्यावतां] कृदरमापन्नं प्राप्तं घृतं मधुमत् स्वादुमत् पिन्वमानः । आत्मानं प्रति.....(damaged)[सिञ्चन् स्वेच्छया पानं] कुर्वन् वाजिनं वहन् अतस्त्वं वाजी । हे जातवेदः देवानां सधस्थं सहस्थानं प्रियं घृतं .....(damaged) [वक्षि वह] प्रापय ॥ १ ॥

घृतेनाञ्जन्सं पथो देवयानान्प्रजानन्वाज्यप्येतु देवान् ।
अनु त्वा सप्ते प्रदिशः सचन्ता ९ स्वधामस्मै यजमानाय धेहि ॥ २ ॥

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* Damaged portion restored with the help of Uvaṭa's commentary.

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अत्र द्वितीयोऽर्धर्चः पूर्वं व्याख्यायते । हे सप्ते सरण प्रदिशः प्रतिदिशां त्वाम् । द्विपदचतुःपदाश्रयाणि भूतजातानि अनुसचन्तां सेवताम् । किं च स्वधामन्नं अस्य यजमानस्य धेहि प्रयच्छ । किं कुर्वन् । देवयानान् पथः वाजी घृतेन समञ्जन् तत्तेजयन् । पुनः किं कुर्वन् । प्रजानन् अप्येतु अप्येहि । अत्र पुरुषव्यत्ययः । हवींषि देवयानाः पन्थानः उच्यन्ते ॥ २ ॥

ईड्यश्चासि वन्द्यश्च वाजिन्नाशुश्चासि मेध्यश्च सप्ते ।
अग्निष्ट्वा देवैर्वसुभिः सजोषाः प्रीतं वहिं वहतु जातवेदाः ॥ ३ ॥

हे वाजिन्, सप्ते जातवेदा अग्निः त्वां देवैर्वसुभिश्च सजोषाः समानप्रीतिः प्रीतं आप्रीतं वहिं वोढारं वहतु प्रापयतु । यतः त्वम् ईड्यः असि स्तुत्योऽसि वन्द्यश्च । आशुः शीघ्रः असि मेध्यश्च पवित्रोऽसि ॥ ३ ॥

स्तीर्णं बर्हिः सुष्टरीमा जुषाणोरु पृथु प्रथमानं पृथिव्याम् ।
देवेभिर्युक्तमदितिः सजोषाः स्योनं कृण्वाना सुविते दधातु ॥ ४ ॥

हे अग्ने पृथिव्यां वेद्यां प्रथमानं बर्हिः स्तीर्णं सुष्टरीम साधु स्तृणाम यज्ञगृहद्वाररूपं कृण्वाना कुर्वाणा । जुषाणामि[णा इति]विभक्तिव्यत्ययः । जुषाणः सेवमानः तन्वं स्तीर्यमाणं कुरु । उरुत्वे स्तीर्णं पृथु पृथुलं देवेभिर्युक्तम् । किं च हे अग्ने ते अदितिर्देवमाता सजोषाः सह प्रीयमाणा सती स्योनं मुखं यज्ञगृहद्वाररूपं कृण्वाना कुर्वाणा । सुविते सुइते सुगते गतिकर्मप्रजीवा यद्दधातु स्थापयतु ॥ ४ ॥

एता उ वः सुभगा विश्वरूपा विपक्षोभिः श्रयमाणा उदातैः ।
ऋष्वाः सतीः कवषः शुम्भमाना द्वारो देवीः सुप्रायणा भवन्तु ॥ ५ ॥

हे ऋत्विग्यजमानाः, वः युस्माकं एता द्वारदेव्यः सुप्रायणाः सुप्रगमनाः भवन्तु । किंलक्षणाः सुभगाः विश्वरूपाः । अनेकरूपविचित्रिताः । विपक्षोभिः श्रयमाणाः पक्षोभिर्विस्तीर्यमाणाः पक्षाभ्यामुदितैरूद्ध्वमायातैः सततागमनैर्विश्रयन्ता इत्यनुषङ्गः । ऋष्वाः महत्यः सतीः सत्यः कवषः कुषिताः शुम्भमानाः आत्मानं शोभयन्त्यः ॥ ५ ॥

अन्तरा मित्रावरुणा चरन्ती मुखं यज्ञानामभिसंविदाने ।
उषासा वाᳬ सुहिरण्ये सुशिल्पे ऋतस्य योनाविह सादयामि ॥ ६ ॥

हे उषासा । नक्तोषासौ वां युवयोः द्वे दम्पती पत्नीयजमानौ इह ऋतस्य यज्ञस्य योनौ सादयामि स्थापयामि । किंलक्षणे दम्पती ? सुहिरण्ये साधु हिरण्यालंकृते सुशिल्पे साध्वन्योन्यं प्रतिरूपे । किंलक्षणे उषासा । द्विवचनोपदेशात्साहचरितत्वाच्च द्वितीया रात्रिः । अतो नक्तोषासौ अन्तरा मित्रावरुणा चरन्ती । अन्तरा मध्येन मित्रावरुणा चरन्ती । अयं वै लोको मित्रोऽसौ वरुणः । द्यावापृथिव्योर्मध्येन चरन्त्यौ । यज्ञानां मुखं अभिसंविदाने यज्ञस्य मुखमग्निहोत्रं तस्य कालं प्रथमं कथ्ययन्त्यौ उत्तिष्ठतायमग्निहोत्रहोमकालः सम्प्राप्त इतीव लक्ष्यते ॥ ६ ॥

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प्र॒थमा वां ९ सर॒थिना॑ सु॒वर्णा॑ दे॒वौ पश्य॑न्तौ॒ भुव॑नानि॒ विश्वा॑ ।
अपि॑प्र॒यं चोद॑ना वां॒ मिमा॑ना॒ होता॑रा॒ ज्योतिः॑ प्र॒दिशा॑ दि॒शन्ता॑ ॥ ७ ॥

हे नक्तोषासौ वां युवयोः विषये तौ दम्पती । आहवनीयाख्यं ज्योतिर्यष्टव्यम् । प्रदिशा साभिनयेन श्रुतिवाक्येन दिशां तौ प्रकथयन्तौ आसात इति वाक्यशेषः । पुनः दम्पती यजमानौ वां युवयोः चोदनाप्रमाणकं कर्ममिमाना निर्ममाणौ होतारौ । एवं मध्यस्थतया भुवनानि भूतजातानि विश्वानि सर्वाणि अपिप्रयम् । प्रीणातेरेतद्रूपं प्रीणितवानहमस्मि इत्यध्वर्युः । किंलक्षणौ तौ प्रथमौ होतारौ सारथिनौ एकरथ्यारूढौ सुवर्णौ शोभनवर्णौ देवनादिगुणयुक्तौ पश्यन्तौ प्रेक्ष्यमाणौ ॥ ७ ॥

आ॒दि॒त्यैर्नो॒ भार॑ती वष्टु य॒ज्ञ९सर॑स्वती स॒ह रु॒द्रैर्न॑ आवीत् ।
इडो॑प॑हूता॒ वसु॑भिः सु॒जोषा॑ य॒ज्ञं नो॑ देवीर॒मृते॑षु धत्त ॥ ८ ॥

नः अस्माकं यज्ञं देवीः तिस्रो देव्यः । अमृतेषु देवेषु धत्त दधत्विति पुरुषव्यत्ययः । कास्ता नः अस्माकं यज्ञं आदित्यैः सहिता भारती वष्टु कामयताम् । पुनः नः अस्मान् सरस्वती सह रुद्रैः आवीत् अवतु । इडा च उपहूता कृतोपह्वा । वसुभिः सजोषा समानप्रीतिः अस्मान् अवत्विति वाक्यशेषः ॥ ८ ॥

त्वष्टा॑ वी॒रं दे॒वका॑मं जजान॒ त्वष्टु॒रर्वा॑ जायत आ॒शुरश्वः॑ ।
त्वष्टे॒दं विश्वं॒ भुव॑नं जजान ब॒होः क॒तार॑मि॒ह य॑क्षि होतः ॥ ९ ॥

हे होतः इह त्वष्टारं यज यक्षि । किंलक्षणम् । बहोः भूतग्रामस्य कर्तारम् । यश्च त्वष्टा इदं सर्वं विश्वं भुवनं भूतजातं जनयति । यस्त्वष्टा वीरं पुत्रं देवकामं ऋणत्रयमपाकरणसमर्थं जजान जनयति । यस्माच्च त्वष्टुः अर्वा अरणः अश्वः आशुः शीघ्रः जायते ॥ ९ ॥

अश्वो॑ घृ॒तेन॒ त्मन्या॒ समक्त॒ उप॑ दे॒वाँ २ ऋ॑तु॒शः पाथ॑ एतु ।
वन॒स्पति॑र्देवलो॒कं प्र॑जा॒नन्न॒ग्निना॑ ह॒व्या स्व॑दि॒तानि॑ वक्षत् ॥ १० ॥

अश्वः घृतेन समक्तः समुक्षितः ऋतुशः ऋतावृधः पाथः अन्नं भूत्वा त्मन्या आत्मना स्वयमेव देवान् प्रति उपैतु उपगच्छतु । ननु कथं देवलोकमजानन्नश्वो देवान् प्रत्ययादित्यत आह । वनस्पतिरग्निना मित्रेण देवलोकं प्रजानन्नश्वस्य दर्शयतु हव्या हवींषि स्वदितानि मृष्टीकृतानि देवान् प्रति वक्षत् वहतु ॥ १० ॥

प्र॒जाप॑ते॒स्तप॑सा वावृधा॒नः स॒द्यो जा॒तो द॑धिषे य॒ज्ञम॑ग्ने ।
स्वाहा॑कृतेन ह॒विषा॑ पुरोगा या॒हि सा॒ध्या ह॒विर॑दन्तु दे॒वाः ॥ ११ ॥

हे अग्ने प्रजापतेस्तपसा वावृधानः वर्धमानः सद्यो जातः सन् यज्ञं दधिषे धारयसि । अतस्त्वां ब्रवीमि । स्वाहाकृतेन हविषा स्वाहाकारोपलक्षितेन हविषा पुरोगाः । पुरोगामितया हि साध्या हविरदन्तु देवाः । देवाः साधु हविः अदन्तु । साधुशब्दस्य विभक्त्यादि लोपः ॥ ११ ॥

यदक्र॑न्दः प्रथ॒मं जाय॑मान उ॒द्यन्त्स॑मु॒द्रादु॒त वा॒ पुरी॑षात् ।
श्ये॒नस्य॑ प॒क्षा ह॑रि॒णस्य॑ बा॒हू उ॑प॒स्तुत्यं॒ महि॑ जा॒तं ते॑ अर्वन् ॥ १२ ॥

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त्रयोदशस्त्रिष्टुभोऽश्वाभिष्टवः । हे अर्वन्नश्व प्रथमं जायमानः सन् । यत् अक्रन्दः । हेषाशब्दं अकार्षीत् यश्च त्वं समुद्रात् अन्तरिक्षात् पार्थिवाद्वा समुद्रात् पुरीषादन्यस्माद्वा उद्यन् उद्गच्छन् श्येनस्य पक्षा हरिणस्य बाहू अजैषीः । श्येनपक्षौ शीघ्रतया अजैषीः । हरिणस्य बाहू शीघ्रतया अजैषीः । अतस्ते तव ऋषिभिः उपस्तुत्यं स्तवनीयं महि महत् जातं उत्पन्नम् ॥ १२ ॥

यमेन दत्तं त्रित एनमायुनगिन्द्र एणं प्रथमो अध्यतिष्ठत् ।
गन्धर्वो अस्य रशनामगृभ्णात्सूरादश्वं वसवो निरतष्ट ॥ १३ ॥

अत्र चतुर्थपादप्रभृति व्याख्या । हे वसवः यूयं सूरादादित्यमण्डलात् अश्वं निरतष्ट । निरतिष्टतिः करोतीति कर्मा । य इत्थंभूतोऽश्वस्तं स्तुमः इति शेषः । आदित्यमण्डलान्निष्कृष्य कृतवन्तम् । यमेन दत्तं त्रित एनमायुनक् त्रितः त्रिस्थानो वायुः एनं आयुनक् आयुक्तवान् । इन्द्र एनं प्रथमो अध्यतिष्ठत् । गन्धर्वो विश्वावसुः अस्य रशनामगृभ्णात् अगृह्णात् इति ॥ १३ ॥

असि यमो अस्यादित्यो अर्वन्नसि त्रितो गुह्येन व्रतेन ।
असि सोमेन समया विपृक्त आहुस्ते त्रीणि दिवि बन्धनानि ॥ १४ ॥

हे अर्वन्, अश्व, यमः असि । आदित्यः असि । त्रिस्थानः इन्द्रः गुह्येन गुप्तेन व्रतेन कर्मणा भवसि । सोमेन समयामध्यतः विपृक्त एकीभूतः एताभिर्देवताभिस्तव सायुज्यं संजातमित्यभिप्रायः । किं च आहुस्ते तव त्रीणि दिवि बन्धनानि दिवि द्युलोके आदित्यात्मनावस्थितस्य त्रीणि बन्धनानि ऋग्यजुःसामलक्षणानि मण्डलान्तरं पुरुषा हवींषि ॥ १४ ॥

त्रीणि त आहुर्दिवि बन्धनानि त्रीण्यप्सु त्रीण्यन्तःसमुद्रे ।
उतेव मे वरुणश्छन्त्स्यर्वन्यत्रा त आहुः परमं जनित्रम् ॥ १५ ॥

त्रीणि त आहुर्दिवि बन्धनानि व्याख्यातम् । हे अर्वन् अश्व यत्र ते तव परमं जनित्रं जन्म वायुरूपेण आहुः । हे अर्वन्, त(उ)त मे मम वरुणः छन्त्सि छन्दतिरर्चतिकर्मा । शंसति कथयति । ते तव आसु त्रीणि बन्धनानि । कृषिर्वृष्टिर्बीजम् । त्रीणि अन्तःसमुद्रे । समुद्रशब्देनान्तरिक्षमभिधीयते । उत अपि च । तत्रापि तव त्रीणि बन्धनानि मेघो विद्युत् स्तनयित्नुरिति ॥ १५ ॥

इमा ते वाजिन्नवमार्जनानीमा शफानां सनितुर्निधानां ।
अत्रा ते भद्रा रशना अपश्यमृतस्य या अभिरक्षन्ति गोपाः ॥ १६ ॥

हे वाजिन् अश्व, ते तव इमानि मार्जनानि अव रक्ष ये त्वया अवमार्जनं कृतम् । इमानि च शफानां खुराणां सनितुः संभक्तुः पादवासस्य निधानानि । यत्र पादवासप्रभृतीनि धीयन्ते । सर्वमहमपश्यम् । अपि च अत्र ते तव भन्द्रा भन्दनीया स्तुत्या रशना अहमपश्यम् । याः ऋतस्य यज्ञस्य गोपाः गोपायितव्या अभिरक्षन्ति । अथेदानीं भविष्यत्कालकर्मभिरभिष्टौति ॥ १६ ॥

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आत्मानं ते मनसारादजानामवो दिवा पतयन्तं पतङ्गम् ।
शिरो अपश्यं पथिभिः सुगेभिररेणुभिर्जेहमानं पतत्रि ॥ १७ ॥

हे अर्वन्, ते तत्र पशुसंस्पर्शनोत्तरकालं ते तत्र आत्मानं दिव्यमनसा आरात् दूरे अजानाम् जानामि । आख्यातमेवत (मेतद्) अनुदात्तत्त्वात् तिङः तिङ्निपातः । ननु षष्ठीबहुवचनं अवशब्दस्य अधस्तात् । दिवा दिवं प्रति पतयन्तं उत्पतन्तम् । पुनः किं पतङ्गं आदित्यरूपिणं पुनरहं तव शिरः अपश्यम् । किंलक्षणं शिरः । पतत्रि उत्पतनशीलं पथिभिः मार्गैः सुगेभिः सुगमनै अरेणुभिः उपद्रवरहितैः जेहमानं गच्छन्तम् ॥ १७ ॥

अत्रा ते रूपमुत्तममपश्यं जिगीषमाणमिष आ पदे गोः ।
यदा ते मर्तो अनु भोगमानडादिद्ग्रसिष्ट ओषधीरजीगः ॥ १८ ॥

हे अश्व, पृथिव्यां वर्तमानः इषः अन्नानि औषधीः अजीगः ग्रस्तासि गिरसि । आ ईषत् । हे अर्वन् ते तव पदे द्युलोके उत्तमरूपं अपश्यं पश्यामि । अतः देवलोकं प्रति प्रार्थये । जिगीषमाणं जेतुमिच्छन्तम् । इषः अन्नानि इच्छन्तम् । गोः गन्तुकामस्य तव एवं तावत् द्युलोकावस्थितस्याहं उत्तमं रूपमपश्यं पश्यामि । यदा ते तव पृथिवीस्थितस्य पुनः मनुष्यः अनुभोगमानट् व्याप्नोदित्यर्थः । इदिति पादपूरणार्थः । ओषधीः आइषत ग्रसिष्टः ग्रसिष्टतमः अतिशयेन भक्षयितान् अजीगः गिरसि वाहितः चलितुमपि न शक्नोति । त्वं तु वीर्यवत्तरो भवसीत्यभिप्रायः ॥ १८ ॥

अनु त्वा रथो अनु मर्यो अर्वन्ननु गावोऽनु भगः कनीनाम् ।
अनु व्रातासस्तव सख्यमीयुरनु देवा ममिरे वीर्यं ते ॥ १९ ॥

अन्वित्यपरभावमाचष्टे । हे अर्वन्, यस्य सुकृतिनः त्वं गृहे चेष्टसे । तस्य त्वामनु रथः चेष्टते । मर्यो मर्त्यो मनुष्यश्चेष्टते । अनु गावश्चेष्टन्ते । पुनस्त्वामनु कनीनां कन्यानां भगः सौभाग्यं चेष्टते । किं च । अनुव्रातासस्तव सख्यं ईयुः । तव सखिभावं अनुव्राताः पुरुषसंघा अपि सख्यं ययुः । किं चान्यद्बहु वदामः । अनु देवा ममिरे वीर्यं ते देवाः । वीर्यं वीर्यवत्तरं ते तव कर्म अनुममिरे । अचिन्त्यशक्तित्वमित्यभिप्रायः ॥ १९ ॥

हिरण्यशृङ्गोऽयो अस्य पादा मनोजवा अवर इन्द्र आसीत् ।
देवा इदस्य हविरद्यमायन्यो अर्वन्तं प्रथमो अध्यतिष्ठत् ॥ २० ॥

हिरण्यशृङ्गस्थानीयमस्येति हिरण्यशृङ्गः । तं अश्वं वयं स्तुमः । यस्य अयः पादाः लोहमया अश्वावयवा मनोजवाः । यस्य त्वं इन्द्रः अवर आसीत् अभवत् । देवाः आप्नुवन् वायुरूपेणाश्वस्याद्यं हविरद्य[मा]ज्यं हविर्लक्षणं आयन् आगच्छन् । य इन्द्रः अर्वन्तं प्रथमो अधि अतिष्ठत् ॥ २० ॥

ईर्मान्तासः सिलिकमध्यमासः सꣳ शूरणासो दिव्यासो अत्याः ।
हꣳसा इव श्रेणिशो यतन्ते यदाक्षिषुर्दिव्यमज्ममश्वाः ॥ २१ ॥

आदित्यस्य रथे येऽश्वा युक्तास्तद्द्वारेणायमश्वः स्तूयते । ईर्मान्तासः ईर्मान्ता एव ईर्मान्तासः । तेषां हि सप्तानां मध्ये ये अश्वाश्चत्वारः समीरितान्ताः विक्षिप्तान्ता विसृता विरला इत्यर्थः । पृथवोन्ता पृथूरस्का पृथुजघना-

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श्रेत्यर्थः । सिलिकमध्यमासः संश्लिष्टमध्यमा इत्यर्थः । तेषां हि सप्तानां ये मध्यमास्त्रयस्ते इतरेतरमुत्पीड्य संश्लेषेणावस्थिताः । अथवा पृथुजघनोरस्कानां सतां मध्यमाः शरीरप्रदेशाः सप्तानामपि संश्लिष्टाः संलग्नाः सन्तः । निरुदरास्ते अश्वाः । सꣳशूरणाः शूरेण भगवतादित्येन प्रेरिताः दिव्यासः दिविजाः । अत्याः अतनाः । ब्राह्मं सहस्रयुगपर्यन्तं सकृद्युक्ताः ये इत्थंभूता अश्वा दिव्यं दिविभवं यत् अज्मं अजिनं आक्षिपुः । 'अशूङ् व्याप्तौ' (पा.धा.१३४६) धातोः प्रयोगः । व्याप्नुवन्ति । के इव हंसा इव । यथा हंसाः श्रेणीभूताः एकया रीत्या गमनाय प्रयत्नं कुर्वन्त्येवमश्वा अपि ॥ २१ ॥

तव शरीरं पतयिष्ण्वर्वन् तव चित्तं वात इव ध्रजीमान् ।
तव शृङ्गाणि विष्ठिता पुरुत्रारण्येषु जर्भुराणा चरन्ति ॥ २२ ॥

हे अर्वन्, तव पुरुत्रा बहुधा विद्युच्चन्द्रार्काग्न्यादिषु अरण्येषु विष्ठितानि विविधं स्थितानि जर्भुराणानि देदीप्यमानानि चरन्ति । कथमित्यपेक्षायां तव शरीरं पतयिष्णु उत्पतनशीलं तव चित्रं वात इव ध्रजीमान् गतिमान् तव शृङ्गाणि ज्वलन्नामसु पठितम् ॥ २२ ॥

उप प्रागाच्छसनं वाज्यर्वा देवद्रीचा मनसा दीध्यानः ।
अजः पुरो नीयते नाभिरस्यानु पश्चात्कवयो यन्ति रेभाः ॥ २३ ॥

वाजी अर्वा शसनं विशसनं उपप्रागात्प्राप्तः । देवद्रीचा देवान् प्रति अञ्चितेन मनसा दीध्यानः । हिरण्यगर्भपदं दीध्यमानः ध्यायन् । किं च अस्याश्वस्य अजो नाभिः पुरः नीयते । यत्र अनु पश्चात् कवयः क्रान्तदर्शनाः । रेभाः स्तोतारो यन्ति गमयन्ति ॥ २३ ॥

उप प्रागात्परमं यत्सधस्थमर्वा २ अच्छा पितरं मातरं च ।
अद्या देवान्जुष्टतमो हि गम्या अथाशास्ते दाशुषे वार्याणि ॥ २४ ॥

एवमश्वमभिष्टुत्याथेदानीं यजमानं कृतकृत्यतया सम्बोधयन्नाह । हे यजमान, अर्वान् अर्वाश्वः नकार उपसर्जनः । देवमनुष्याणां परमं सधस्थं सहस्थानं उपप्रागात् प्राप्तः । च अन्यत् । अद्य पितरं मातरं अच्छा अभ्यगात् । अपः (अथ) यजमानाय स्ववार्याणि वरणीयानि आशास्ते । हे यजमान, त्वां ब्रवीमि अद्य कृतकृत्यः सन् देवान् गम्याः गच्छेः जुष्टतमो हि प्रियतमो हि सन् । किंलक्षणाय यजमानाय हवींषि दत्तवते ॥ २४ ॥

समिद्धो अद्य मनुषो दुरोणे देवो देवान्यजसि जातवेदः ।
आ च वह मित्रमहश्चिकित्वान्त्वं दूतः कविरसि प्रचेताः ॥ २५ ॥

द्वादशाप्रीस्त्रिष्टुभः भार्गवो जमदग्निरपश्यत् । हे जातवेदः, अद्य अस्मिन् यजनीये अहनि मनुषो दूरोणे यजमानानां यज्ञगृहे देवान् यजसि । अतस्त्वां ब्रवीमि । हे मित्रमहः मित्रपूजिता आ च वह आवह यजमानभूयस्त्वाद्वीप्सा बहुवचनं च । चिकित्वान् चेतनवान् परिदृष्टकारी । समिद्धः । त्वं दूतः सन् कविरसि प्रचेताः प्रवृद्धचेताः ॥ २५ ॥

तनूनपात्पथ ऋतस्य यानान्मध्वा समञ्जन्स्वदया सुजिह्व ।
मन्मानि धीभिरुत यज्ञमृन्धन्देवत्रा च कृणुह्यध्वरं नः ॥ २६ ॥

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हे तनूनपात् अग्नेराज्यस्य वा संबोधनं गवामपां च पौत्र ऋतस्य यज्ञस्य पथः मार्गान् यानान् मध्वा समञ्जन् मधुरसेनाज्येन समञ्जन् संभक्षयन् स्वदय रोचय । हे सुजिह्व कल्याणजिह्व । नः अस्माकं यज्ञं च देवत्रा कृणुहि देवान् प्रति गमय उत अपि च किं कुर्वन् मन्मानि मननानि अस्माकं धीभिर्यज्ञमृन्धन् यज्ञं क्रतुं समर्थयन् । नानादेवत्यानि हवींष्यभ्यवहरन् । यज्ञमार्गो हविः । हविर्भिर्यज्ञो याति चलति । तनूनपाच्छब्दः द्विरुदात्तः । आमन्त्रितत्वादाद्युदात्तः ॥ २६ ॥

नराशꣳसस्य महिमानमेषामुपस्तोषाम यजतस्य यज्ञैः ।
ये सुक्रतवः शुचयो धियंधाः स्वदन्ति देवा उभयानि हव्या ॥ २७ ॥

नराशंसो यज्ञः नरा अस्मिन्नाशीनां शंसन्तीति नराशंसः । तस्य नराशंसस्य अथवा अग्निर्नरैः प्रशस्यो भवतीति । नराशंसो यज्ञः । एषां देवगणानां मध्ये नराशंसस्य महिमानं उपस्तोषाम उपस्तुमः । यज्ञैराहुतिभिर्यजतस्य यष्टव्यस्य तेऽस्य महाभाग्यस्य ये देवाः सुक्रतवः सुकर्माणः । शुचयः निषक्तपाप्मनः अणिमाद्यैर्युक्ता धियंधा जातप्रज्ञानाः । उभयानि हव्यानि हवींषि सोमं चेतराणि स्वदन्ति भक्षयन्ति ॥ २७ ॥

आजुह्वान ईड्यो वन्द्यश्चायाह्यग्ने वसुभिः सजोषाः ।
त्वं देवानामसि यह्व होता स एतान्यक्षीषितो यजीयान् ॥ २८ ॥

हे अग्ने हे जि(य)ह्व वसुभिः सजोषाः समानप्रीतिः सना याहि । यतस्त्वं देवानां होतासि । अतः स एनान् देवान् यक्षि यज आजुह्वानः आहूयमानः ईड्यः स्तुत्यः वन्द्यश्च भवसि । ईषितः प्रेषितः यजीयान् य[ष्टृ]तरः ॥ २८ ॥

प्राचीनं बर्हिः प्रदिशा पृथिव्या वस्तोरस्या वृज्यते अग्रे अह्नाम् ।
व्युं प्रथते वितरं वरीयो देवेभ्यो अदितये स्योनम् ॥ २९ ॥

प्रदिशा श्रुतिवाक्येन प्रागग्रं बर्हिः स्तृणाति । अग्रे अह्नां पूर्वाह्णे पृथिव्या वस्तोरस्या वेद्यवसानाच्छादनं बर्हिः प्रवृज्यते । प्रवृज्यमानं विप्रथते विविधमाच्छादयति । उकारः पादपूरणः । वितरमतितरां वरीयः वरतरम् । किं पुनः कार[ण]मपेक्ष्य प्रवृज्य इत्य[त]आह । देवेभ्यश्च अदितये च मु(सु)खं क[र्तुम्]इति शेषः ॥ २९ ॥

व्यचस्वतीरुर्विया विश्रयन्तां पतिभ्यो न जनयः शुम्भमानाः ।
देवीर्द्वारो बृहतीर्विश्वमिन्वा देवेभ्यो भवत सुप्रायणाः ॥ ३० ॥

यज्ञगृहद्वारोऽभिधेयाः । हे व्यचस्वत्यः गमनवत्यः उर्विया उरुत्वेन विश्रयन्ताम् । विवृतं विश्रयध्वं कथमिव । पतिभ्यो न जनयः शुम्भमानाः । यथा मैथुनधर्मेण पतिभ्यो अर्थाय जायाः आत्मानं शोभयं व्यऊरु विश्रयेयुः । विवृतौ कुर्वन्ति । यथा हि मण्डिता जाया पतिं उपसर्पति तथेतराः । अत एवोक्तं पतिभ्यो न जनयः शुम्भमानाः विवृता भूत्वेत्यर्थः । नकारोऽयमुपमानार्थः । हे देव्यः द्वारः बृहत्यः विश्वमिन्वाः विश्वमभिर(ए)ति देवेभ्य ऋत्विग्यजमानेभ्यः सुप्रायणाः सुप्रगमनाः भवत ॥ ३० ॥

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आ सुष्वयन्ती यजते उपाके उषासानक्ता सदतां नि योनौ ।
दिव्ये योषणे बृहती सुरुक्मे अधि श्रियं ९ शुक्रपिशं दधाने ॥ ३१ ॥

हे यज्ञगृहद्वारशाखे योनौ यज्ञगृहे आसीताम् । किंलक्षणे आसुष्वन्ती । स्वर्य(स्मय)तेर्वा स्वपतेर्वा निरुपसर्गात् रूपम् । स(सं)स्मीयमाने परस्परं हसन्त्यौ साधुस्वपन्त्यौ वा परस्परम् । यजते यज्ञिये । उपाके उपयाक्रान्ते परस्परम् । एकदेशवलीभूते उषासानक्ता उषा प्रातः नक्ता रात्रिः । दिव्यो दिविभवे । जो(यो)षणे प्रीतिमत्यौ । स्त्रीरूपिण्यौ वा । बृहती बृहत्यौ सुरुक्मे सुरोचने । शुक्रपिशं अधिश्रियं दधाने स्थापयत्यौ । उद्गच्छतः शुक्ररूपिणीं कपिशां श्रियं संदधाने ॥ ३१ ॥

दैव्या होतारा प्रथमा सुवाचा मिमाना यज्ञं मनुषो यजध्यै ।
प्रचोदयन्ता विदथेषु कारू प्राचीनं ज्योतिः प्रदिशा दिशन्ता ॥ ३२ ॥

तौ अस्मदीयं यज्ञं प्रसाधयतामिति शेषः । तौ कौ यौ देव्या होतारौ । अयं चाग्निरसौ च मध्यमः प्रथमौ आज्यरूपौ । सुवाचौ अग्निः[मि]माना यज्ञं निर्ममाणौ मनुषो यजध्यै । मनुषः वीप्सालोपः । मनुष्यस्य यज्ञेषु विद[थे]षु अन्यान् ऋत्विजः यजध्यै । यजनाय प्रचोदयन्तौ । प्राचीनं पूर्वस्यां हि आहवनीयाख्यं ज्योतिर्यष्टव्यमिति । प्रदिशा अभिनयेन श्रुतिवाक्येन वा दिशन्ता प्रकथयन्ता वासाते । कारू स्वयं च कर्तारौ ॥ ३२ ॥

आ नो यज्ञं भारती तूयमेत्विडा मनुष्वदिह चेतयन्ती ।
तिस्रो देवीर्बर्हिरेद ९ स्योन ९ सरस्वती स्वपसः सदन्तु ॥ ३३ ॥

नः अस्माकं यज्ञं भारती (lacuna)[तूयं क्षिप्रं आ] एतु । आकारः एतु अनेन संबध्यते । एतु इडापि मनुष्यत् यज्ञं एतु । .....(lacuma)[सरस्वती च] या इत्थंभूतास्तिस्रो देव्य इह चेतयन्ती चेतयन्त्यः । आ इदं बर्हिः स्योनं मु(सु)खरूपं स्वपसः । साधु कर्मणि आसदन्तु आसीदन्तु ॥ ३३ ॥

य इमे द्यावापृथिवी जनित्री रूपैरपिं ९ शद्भुवनानि विश्वा ।
तमद्य होतरिषितो यजीयान्देवं त्वष्टारमिह यक्षि विद्वान् ॥ ३४ ॥

हे होतः, अद्य अस्मिन्नहनि तं देवं त्वष्टारं इह यक्षि यज स्वमधिकारं विद्वान् जानानः । यजीयान् यष्टृतमः । य इमे द्यावापृथिव्यौ सर्वेषां भूतानां जनयित्र्यौ रूपैः अपिंशत् विचित्रिते अकरोत् । पुनस्त्वष्टा भुवनानि भूतजातानि विश्वा विश्वानि रूपैरावृतान्यकरोत् ॥ ३४ ॥

उपावसृज त्मन्या समञ्जन्देवानां पाथ ऋतुथा हवींषि ।
वनस्पतिः शमिता देवो अग्निः स्वदन्तु हव्यं मधुना घृतेन ॥ ३५ ॥

हे होत, उपश्लिष्टं पाशुकं अवदानम् । त्मना आत्मना अवसृज निक्षिप । मन्त्रेष्वात्मन इत्याकारलोपः । किं कुर्वन् देवानां पाथः अन्नं हवींषि । ऋतुथा ऋतावृतौ समञ्जन् संप्रयक्षन् निक्षिप । तद्धव्यं मधुना घृतेन युक्तं वनस्पतिः शमिता देवो अग्निः स्वदन्तु ॥ ३५ ॥

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स॒द्योजा॒तो व्य॑मिमीत य॒ज्ञम॒ग्निर्दे॒वानाम॑भवत्पुरो॒गाः ।
अ॒स्य होतुः॑ प्र॒दिश्यृ॒तस्य॑ वा॒चि स्वाहा॑कृत ँ ह॒विर॑दन्तु दे॒वाः ॥ ३६ ॥

अग्निः सद्योजातः सन् यज्ञं विमिमीत निरमिमीते । देवानां पुरोगा अभवत् । अग्निः अग्रतो गामी सर्वकार्येषु । अस्याग्नेर्होतुः प्रदिशि प्राच्यां दिशि ऋतस्य गतस्य आहवनीयात्मनास्थितस्य वाचि आस्ये मुखे वा स्वाहाकृतं स्वाहाकृत्युपलक्षितं हविः देवा अदन्तु भक्षयन्तु ॥ ३६ ॥

के॒तुं कृ॒ण्वन्न॑के॒तवे॒ पेशो॑ मर्या अपे॒शसे॑ ।
समु॒षद्भि॑रजायथाः ॥ ३७ ॥

इत उत्तरं अश्वस्य रक्षिणः पुरुषस्यापेक्षितोपकरणानि च स्तूयन्ते । हे अग्ने, उषद्भिः 'उष दाहे' (पा.धा. ७४२) उषद्भिः । अग्निहोत्रादिकर्माणि कुर्वद्भिः अजायथाः उत्पन्नः । किं कुर्वन् । केतुं कृण्वन् अकेतवे केतुं प्रज्ञानं कृण्वन् कुर्वन् पेशः सुवर्णं रूप्यं वा मर्याः । अत्र विभक्तिव्य[त्य]यः । मर्याय मनुष्याय अपेशसे अविद्यमानसुवर्णाय अविद्यमानरूपा(प्या)य पेशः सुवर्णं रूपं(प्यं) वा कुर्वन् । अकेतवे न विद्यते केतु प्रज्ञानं यस्य स अकेतुः तस्मै ॥ ३७ ॥

जी॒मूत॑स्येव भवति॒ प्रती॑कं॒ यद्वर्मी याति॑ स॒मदा॑मु॒पस्थे॑ ।
अना॑विद्धया त॒न्वा॒ जय॒ त्व ँ स त्वा॒ वर्म॑णो महि॒मा पि॑पर्तु ॥ ३८ ॥

भारद्वाजः संग्रामान्पृक्षा(न्यपक्षान्)स्तौति । स वर्मणो महिमा त्वां पिपर्तु पालयतु । कस्मिन् काले कस्य चेत्यत आह । स समदां संग्रामाणां उपस्थे उत्सङ्गे प्रतीकमुद्दिश्य वर्मी योद्धा याति गच्छति । हस्त्यश्वरथपदातिसगम्भीरतूर्यनिनादशरजलनिकरैरसह्यं प्रतीकं कस्येव । जीमूतस्येव भवति प्रतीकं जीमूतो मेघः प्रतीकमनीकं मुखमिति पर्यायः । यथा मेघस्य मुखं विद्युत्स्फुरति स्तनयित्नुधरानिकरैरसह्यं भवति । हे वर्मिन्, त्वं तन्वा जय । अनाविद्धया न आविद्धा अनाविद्धा तया अक्षतया ॥ ३८ ॥

धन्व॑ना॒ गा धन्व॑ना॒जिं जये॑म॒ धन्व॑ना तीव्राः॒ समदो॑ जयेम ।
धनुः॒ शत्रो॑रपका॒मं कृ॑णोति॒ धन्व॑ना॒ सर्वाः॑ प्र॒दिशो॑ जयेम ॥ ३९ ॥

धनुःस्तुतिः । धन्वाना धनुषा गाः पृथिवीः जयेम । धनुषा च आजिं मार्गं जयेम । धनुषा च तीव्राः पटवः उद्धूर्णायुधाः समदः संग्रामाञ्जयेम । द्वितीयार्थे प्रथमा व्याख्यायते । धनुश्च शत्रोः कामं अपकृणोतु । धन्वना धनुषा सर्वाः प्रदिशः जयेम । 'ऊधसोनङ् धनुषश्च'(पा.सू.५.४.१३१-१३२)इत्यनङादेशः ॥ ३९ ॥

व॒क्ष्यन्ती॒वेदाग॑नीगन्ति॒ कर्णं॑ प्रि॒य ँ सखा॑यं परिषस्वजा॒ना ।
योषे॑व शिङ्क्ते वित॒ताऽधि॑ धन्व॒न्ज्या इ॒य ँ समने॑ पा॒रय॑न्ती ॥ ४० ॥

ज्याभिधेया । या ज्या धन्वं विततता प्रसारिता अधि उपरि धनुषि निबद्धा । सेयं समने संग्रामे पारयन्ती जयं कुर्वती संग्रामानुत्तारयन्ती स्तूयते । धानुष्केणाकृष्यमाणा कर्णमूलं यावत् वक्षन्ती । आगनीगति आगच्छति

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अत्यर्थमागच्छति । इत् शब्दः पादपूरणः । प्रियं सखायं इषुं योषेव परिषस्वजाना आलिङ्गयन्ती । पुनर्योषेव शिङ्क्ते । 'शिजि अव्यक्ते शब्दे' (पा.धा.१०९९) । यथा विदग्धा योषित्कामुकरञ्जनार्थं अव्यक्तं कूजितादिकं शब्दं करोति । एवमिति ॥ ४० ॥

ते आचरन्ती समनेव योषा मातेव पुत्रं बिभृतामुपस्थे ।
अप शत्रून्विध्यता ९ संविदाने आर्त्नी इमे विष्फुरन्ती अमित्रान् ॥ ४१ ॥

धनुषः कोटी स्तूयन्ते(ते) । त्रिष्टुप् । हे योषे योषा इति विभक्तिव्यत्ययः । समनेव समनेन मनस्केव समानभर्तृगतमनस्के इव । इमं धनुष्कं उपस्थे उत्सङ्गे मातेव पुत्रं बिभृतां धारयताम् । पुनरिमे शत्रून् अमित्रान् अपविध्यतां आचरन्ती धानुष्कं उपकान्त्यौ संविदाने सुखमनुभवन्त्यौ । आर्त्नी अटन्यौ ॥ ४१ ॥

बह्वीनां पिता बहुरस्य पुत्रश्चिश्चाकृणोति समनावगत्य ।
इषुधिः संकाः पृतनाश्च सर्वाः पृष्ठे निनद्धो जयति प्रसूतः ॥ ४२ ॥

इषुधिः स्तूयते । स इषुधिः समनाः संग्रामान् अवगत्य ज्ञात्वा धनुषः निःक्रम्यमाणां वि(चि)श्चेत्येवं शब्दं कृणोति करोति । धनुष्मता पृष्ठे निनद्धः प्रसूतो जयति । संकाः शत्रुसंघाताः पृतनाः संग्रामभक्तीः सर्वाः । किंलक्षणः इषुधिः संकीर्यन्ते । अस्मिन्योद्धा इति संकाः बह्वीनां पिता इषूणां पालता । तेन हि इषवः पाल्यन्ते । बहुः इषुकलापः । अस्य पुत्रः पुत्रस्थानीयः सहितेन इषुकलापेन त्रायते बहुत्वात्तदर्थं हितं कुर्वन्तीति भावः ॥ ४२ ॥

रथे तिष्ठन्नयति वाजिनः पुरो यत्र यत्र कामयते सुषारथिः ।
अभीशूनां महिमानं पनायत मनः पश्चादनुयच्छन्ति रश्मयः ॥ ४३ ॥

जगती अर्धेन सारथिः अर्धेन रश्मयः स्तूयन्ते । यः सुसारथिः रथे तिष्ठन् यत्र यत्र कामयते पुरो वाजिनोऽश्वान् पुरोऽग्रतोऽवस्थितान् । नयति प्रापयति तं स्तुम इति शेषः । हे जनाः, अभीशूनां प्रग्रहणानां च महिमानं महाभाग्यं पनायत पूजयत । येषां अश्वसंबन्धिरश्मयः पश्चात्सन्तो मनः अनुगच्छन्ति । वशवर्ति कुर्वन्ति ॥ ४३ ॥

तीव्रान्घोषान्कृण्वते वृषपाणयोऽश्वा रथेभिः सह वाजयन्तः ।
अवक्रामन्तः प्रपदैरमित्रान्क्षिणन्ति शत्रूं १ रनपव्ययन्तः ॥ ४४ ॥

अश्वाः स्तूयन्ते त्रिष्टभा । अश्वाः तीव्रान् जय जयेति घोषान् शब्दान् कृणुते कुर्वन्ति । वृषपाणयः वृषाः पाणौ येषां संगृहीतप्रभृतीनां योक्तॄणां ते वृषपाणयः । रथेभिः रथैः सह वाजयन्तः पूजयन्तः प्रपदैरवक्रामन्तः । स्वामिनं अनपव्ययन्तः अपेत्यव्ययम् । अपव्ययन्तो नश्यन्तः न अपव्ययन्तः अनपव्ययन्तः अनश्यन्तः स्वामिनं अपरित्यजन्तः ॥ ४४ ॥

रथवाहणं ९ हविरस्य नाम यत्रायुधं निहितमस्य वर्म ।
तत्रा रथमुप शग्म ९ संदेम विश्वाहा वय ९ सुमनस्यमानाः ॥ ४५ ॥

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रथस्तुतिः त्रिष्टुप् । अस्यानसः शकटस्य रथवाहणं हविर्नाम । यत्र यस्मिन्नस्य योद्धुः वर्म सन्नहनं आयुधं विश्वाहा सर्वदा संग्रामान् जित्वा निहितम् । तत्र रथ उपसदे वाहने सुमनस्यमाना अनाकुलितचित्ता वयं रथं शग्मं उप सदेम उपसादयामः ॥ ४५ ॥

स्वादुष ९ सदः पितरो वयोधाः कृच्छ्रेश्रितः शक्तीवन्तो गभीराः ।
चित्रसेना इषुबला अमृध्राः सतो वीरा उरवो व्रातसाहाः ॥ ४६ ॥

रथगोपान् स्तौति त्रिष्टुप् । सतो वीराः शोभनस्य यजमानस्याश्वमेधयाजिनः सम्बन्धिनो वीराः तेऽस्माकं रथगोप्तारो भवन्त्विति शेषः । स्वादुष९ सदः स्वादु सुखकरं येषां सदनं ते स्वादुषदः । पितरः मातरः वयोधसः अन्नस्य आयुषो वा धारयितारः । कृच्छ्रेश्रितः क्लेशाश्रयिणः शक्तीवन्तः बलवन्तः आयुधवन्तो वा । गभीरा गम्भीरप्रज्ञानाः चित्रसेना विचित्रसेना इषुबलाः इषुषु विशेषतो बलं येषां ते । अमृध्राः अमृदवः उरवः पृथुजघनोरस्काः व्रातसाहाः व्रातगणा अभिभवितारः । ये इत्थंभूता तेऽस्माकं रथगोप्तारो भवन्तु ॥ ४६ ॥

ब्राह्मणासः पितरः सोम्यासः शिवे नो द्यावापृथिवी अनेहसा ।
पूषा नः पातु दुरितादृतावृधो रक्षा माकिर्नो अघशं९स ईशत ॥ ४७ ॥

जगती लिङ्गोक्तदेवता । हे ऋतावृधः सत्यवृधो देवाः नः अस्माकं रक्ष रक्षतेति वचनव्यत्ययः । माकिर्नो अघशंसः मा च कश्चित् नः अस्माकं कुले अघशंसः अघानि पापानि शंसतीति अघशंसः । ईशत ईष्टा भवत्प्रसादात् । ब्राह्मणासः पितरः सोम्यासः सोमसंपादिनः । शिवेन पान्तु नः अस्मान् द्यावापृथिवी अनेहसा अनुपहिंसिन्यौ अनपराधिन्यो वा पातं, च अन्यत् पूषा नः अस्मान् दुरितान् अशुभान् पातु रक्षतु ॥ ४७ ॥

सुपर्णं वस्ते मृगो अस्यादन्तो गोभिः संनद्धा पतति प्रसूता ।
यात्रा नरः सं च वि च द्रवन्ति तत्रास्मभ्यमिषवः शर्म य९ सन् ॥ ४८ ॥

द्वाभ्यां त्रिष्टुबनुष्टुभाभ्यां इषुः स्तौति । या इषुः । सुपर्णं वस्ते सुपर्णः पक्षी तस्य विकारः सौपर्णमेव भवति मृगोर्विकारैरस्याः इषोर्दन्तः । गोभिः श्लेष्मस्नायुभिः संनद्धा धनुष्मता प्रसूता प्रचोदिता शत्रुबलं प्रति पतति । यत्र यत्र नराः संच विच द्रवन्ति संगच्छन्ति तत्र तत्रास्मभ्यमिषवः शर्म शरणं यच्छन्तु प्रयच्छन्तु ॥ ४८ ॥

ऋजीते परिवृङ्ग्धि नोऽश्मा भवतु नस्तनूः ।
सोमो अधिब्रवीतु नोऽदितिः शर्म यच्छतु ॥ ४९ ॥

हे इषो ते तव ऋजुगामिनस्तनूरश्मा अश्ममयी परिवृङ्ग्धि परिवर्जय । च अन्यत् नः अस्माकं तनूरश्मा भवतु अश्ममयी भवतु नः अस्मान् जीवनाय सोमः अधि ब्रवीतु नः अस्माकं शरणं अदितिः शर्म यच्छतु । ददात्वित्यर्थः ॥ ४९ ॥

आजङ्घन्ति सान्वेषां जघनाँ २ उपजिघ्नते ।
अश्वाजनि प्रचेतसोऽश्वान्समत्सु चोदय ॥ ५० ॥

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अश्विकास्तुतिः । हे अश्वाजनि । अश्वानां जनी तस्याः संबोधनं हे अश्वाजनि तानश्वान्समत्सु संग्रामेषु जयाय चोदय प्रेरय । तान् कानित्यपेक्षायां येषामश्वानां प्रचेतसोऽश्वारोहा सानू सानूनि मांसोपचितानि अङ्गानि आजङ्घन्ति । पुनर्जघनान् जघनानि उपजिघ्नते उपजिघ्नन्ति ॥ ५० ॥

अहिरिव भोगैः पर्येति बाहुं ज्यायां हेतिं परिबाधमानः ।
हस्तघ्नो विश्वा वयुनानि विद्वान्पुमान्पुमांसं परिपातु विश्वतः ॥ ५१ ॥

हस्तघ्नः स्तूयते । हस्तेऽवस्थिते हन्यते येनेति स हस्तघ्नः । अ(स)हस्तघ्नः पुमांसं अक्लीबं मां विश्वा वयुनानि जातप्रज्ञानि च विश्वतः सर्वतः परिपातु । किं लक्षणस्त्वं विद्वान् प्रजानन् । पुमान् शूरः अक्लीबः यस्त्वं सर्प इव भोगैः शरीरावयवैः बाहुं पर्येति परिवेष्टयति । ज्यायहेतिं परिबाधमानः ज्यायवधात्परित्रायमाणः ॥ ५१ ॥

वनस्पते वीड्वङ्गो हि भूया अस्मत्सखा प्रतरणः सुवीरः ।
गोभिः संनद्धो असि वीडयस्वास्थाता ते जयतु जेत्वानि ॥ ५२ ॥

रथदुन्दुभिः । हे वनस्पते, ते तव रथे आस्थाता भव । जेत्वानि जेतव्यानि तवाङ्गानि जयतु । हे वीड्वङ्गो भूयाः । वीडुशब्दोदृग्वचनः । दृढाङ्गो भव । अस्मत्सखा सन् प्रतरणः प्रतरन्त्यनेन संग्रामानिति प्रतरणः । सुवीरः साधुवीरः । गोभिः संनद्धः गोविकारैः श्लेष्मचर्मभिः संनद्धोऽसि । अतस्त्वां ब्रवीमि आत्मानं वीडयस्व संस्तम्भयस्वेति ॥ ५२ ॥

दिवः पृथिव्याः पर्योज उद्भृतं वनस्पतिभ्यः पर्याभृत ९ सहः ।
अपामोज्मानं परि गोभिरावृतमिन्द्रस्य वज्रं ९ हविषा रथं यज ॥ ५३ ॥

दिवः द्युलोकात् तदोजः परि सर्वतः उद्भृतम् । पृथिव्याः पृथिवीलोकात् च यदोजः परिउद्भृतं यच्च वनस्पतिभ्यः सकाशात् परि सर्वतः सहः बलं आभृतं आहितम् । यच्च अपां सम्बन्धि परि सर्वतः ओज्मानं तेजः । एवं परिमाणं तेजच(श्च)तुष्टयं रथभावं नीतं परि गोभिरावृतम् । परि समन्तात् गोभिर्विकारैः स्नायुश्लेष्मचर्मभिरावृतं उपनिबद्धं इन्द्रस्य वज्रम् । 'इन्द्रोह यत्र वृत्राय वज्रं प्रजहार' (श.ब्रा.१.२.४.१) इत्युपक्रम्य 'रथस्तृतीयं वा'(श.ब्रा.१.२.४.१) इत्याभिधाय 'रथेन च शरेण च राजन्यबन्धव' (श.ब्रा.१.२.४.२) श्रुतेस्तदभिप्रायमेतत् हविषा रथं यज ॥ ५३ ॥

इन्द्रस्य वज्रो मरुतामनीकं मित्रस्य गर्भो वरुणस्य नाभिः ।
सेमां नो हव्यदातिं जुषाणो देव रथ प्रतिहव्या गृभाय ॥ ५४ ॥

हे देवरथ प्रतिहव्या प्रतिग्रह हवींषि गृभाय गृहाण । पुनः किंलक्षणः स इमां नः अस्माकं हव्यदातिं हविषो दानं जुषाणः सेवमानः । त्वं इन्द्रस्य वज्रोऽसि । मरुतां च अनीकं मुखमसि । मित्रस्य गर्भोऽसि वरुणस्य नाभिरसि ॥ ५४ ॥

उपश्वासय पृथिवीमुत द्यां पुरुत्रा ते मनुतां विष्ठितं जगत् ।
स दुन्दुभे सजूरिन्द्रेण देवैर्दूराद्दवीयो अपसेध शत्रून् ॥ ५५ ॥

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हे दुन्दुभे सजूः समानप्रीतिः सन् इन्द्रेण देवैः सह सजूः समानप्रीतिः सन् शत्रून् दूराद्दवीयः दूराद्दूरतरं अपसेध अपगमय । यतस्त्वं अस्माभिः प्रार्थितः सन् पृथिवीं उत अपि च द्यां उपश्वासय । हे दुन्दुभे ते तव स्थावरं जंगमं जगत् । विष्टितं विविधं स्थितं मनुतां मन्यताम् ॥ ५५ ॥

आक्रन्दय बलमोजो न आधा निष्टनिहि दुरितावाधमानः ।
अपप्रोथ दुन्दुभे दुच्छुना इत इन्द्रस्य मुष्टिरसि वीडयस्व ॥ ५६ ॥

हे दुन्दुभे, शत्रुसेनाना..... (Lucuna)(सेनामा[क्रन्दय])दीनान् आक्रन्दय कारय । पिता मे हतः भ्राता मे हत इति कृत्वा पलायध्वम् । उत बलं ओजो न आधा । बलं शारीरं ओजो मानसं तेजः नः अस्माकं आधा आधेहि । किं च । दुरिता निबाधमानः सन्निष्टनिहि निश्चितं जयाय कुरु । किं च । अपप्रोथ दुच्छुना दुष्टस्थानाः सेनाः अपप्रोथ । अपकृत्यापकृत्यापप्रोथ नाशय । दुःसुखा विसर्जनीयस्य दत्वम् । यतस्त्वं इन्द्रस्य मुष्टिरसि अतस्त्वां ब्रवीमि आत्मानं वीडयस्व दृढीकुरु ॥ ५६ ॥

आमूरज प्रत्यावर्तयेमाः केतुमद्दुन्दुभिर्वावदीति ।
समश्वपर्णाश्चरन्ति नो नरोऽस्माकमिन्द्र रथिनो जयन्तु ॥ ५७ ॥

गायत्री ऐन्द्री आअज । 'अज गतिक्षेपणयोः' (पा.धा.२३८) आक्षिप । अमूः शत्रूसेनाः आक्षिप प्रावर्तय । इमाः अस्मदीयया सेनया जितमिति दुन्दुभिर्वावदीति । लोडर्थे लट् । जयी प्रकाशं अत्यर्थं वदतु । समश्वपर्णाश्चरन्ति नो नरः । अस्माकं नराः अश्वपर्णाः अश्वारूढाः अस्मदीया मनुष्याः संग्रामे संचरन्तु । हे इन्द्र त्वत्प्रसादात् अस्माकं रथिनो जयन्तु ॥ ५७ ॥

आग्नेयः कृष्णग्रीवः सारस्वती मेषी बभ्रुः सौम्यः पौष्णः श्यामः शितिपृष्ठो बार्हस्पत्यः शिल्पो वैश्वदेव ऐन्द्रोऽरुणो मारुतः कल्माष ऐन्द्राग्नः संहितोऽधोरामः सावित्रो वारुणः कृष्ण एकशितिपात्पेत्वः ॥ ५८ ॥

अग्नयेऽनीकवते रोहिताञ्चिरनड्वानधोरामौ सावित्रौ पौष्णौ रजतनाभी वैश्वदेवौ पिशङ्गौ तूपरौ मारुतः कल्माष आग्नेयः कृष्णोऽजः सारस्वती मेषी वारुणः पेत्वः ॥ ५९ ॥

अग्नये गायत्राय त्रिवृते राथन्तरायाष्टाकपाल इन्द्राय त्रैष्टुभाय पञ्चदशाय बार्हतायैकादशकपालो विश्वेभ्यो देवेभ्यो जागतेभ्यः सप्तदशेभ्यो वैरूपेभ्यो द्वादशकपालो मित्रावरुणाभ्यामानुष्टुभाभ्यामेकविंशाभ्यां वैराजाभ्यां पयस्या बृहस्पतये पाङ्क्ताय त्रिणवाय शाक्वराय चरुः सवित्र औष्णिहाय त्रयस्त्रिंशाय रैवताय द्वादशकपालः प्राजापत्यश्चरुरदित्यै विष्णुपत्न्यै चरुरग्नये वैश्वानराय द्वादशकपालोऽनुमत्या अष्टाकपालः ॥ ६० ॥

'आग्नेयः कृष्णग्रीव' इति श्रुतिः आ अध्यायपरिसमाप्तः(प्तेः) द्वयोरेकादशन्यः (शिन्योः) पशुदेवतासंबन्धविधायिनी ॥ ५८ ॥ ५९ ॥ ६० ॥

इति मन्त्रभाष्य ऊनत्रिंशोऽध्यायः ॥

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॥ त्रिंशोऽध्यायः ॥

देव सवितः प्रसुव यज्ञं प्रसुव यज्ञपतिं भगाय ।
दिव्यो गन्धर्वः केतपूः केतं नः पुनातु वाचस्पतिर्वाचं नः स्वदतु ॥ १ ॥

तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि ।
धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ॥ २ ॥

इत उत्तरं पुरुषमेधो द्वावध्यायौ पुरुषोऽपश्यत् । त्रिस्रः सावित्रीराहुतीर्जुहोति । तत्र द्वे व्याख्याते । हे देवसवितः ॥ १ ॥ २ ॥

विश्वानि देव सवितर्दुरितानि परासुव ।
यद्भद्रं तन्न आसुव ॥ ३ ॥

विश्वानि दुरितानि असह्यानि परासुव । परां विगमय । यच्च भद्रं भन्दनीयं तत् नः अस्माकं आसुव आगमय ॥ ३ ॥

विभक्तारं ९ हवामहे वसोश्चित्रस्य राधसः ।
सवितारं नृचक्षसम् ॥ ४ ॥

वसोर्वासयितुः । चित्रस्य चायनीयस्य । राधसः धनस्य विभक्तारं सवितारं नृचक्षसम् । नृणां द्रष्टारं हवामहे आह्वयामः ॥ ४ ॥

अतः परं[आ] अध्यायसमाप्तेः पुरुषमेधिकाः पशवः श्रुतिब्राह्मणोक्ता ज्ञातव्याः ।
'तान्वै मध्यमेन्नालभत' इत्युपक्रम्य नामानि निघण्टुनिगमनि[रु]क्तव्याकरणेभ्योऽवगन्तव्यानि ॥

ब्रह्मणे ब्राह्मणं क्षत्राय राजन्यं मरुद्भ्यो वैश्यं तपसे शूद्रं तमसे तस्करं नारकाय वीरहणं पाप्मने क्लीबमाक्रयायाऽयोगूं कामाय पुँश्चलूमतिक्रुष्टाय मागधम् ॥ ५ ॥

नृत्ताय सूतं गीताय शैलूषं धर्माय सभाचरं नरिष्टायै भीमलं नर्माय रेभ ९ हसाय कारिमानन्दाय स्त्रीषखं प्रमदे कुमारीपुत्रं मेधायै रथकारं धैर्याय तक्षाणम् ॥ ६ ॥

तपसे कौलालं मायायै कर्मारं ९ रूपाय मणिकार ९ शुभे वप९ शरव्याया इषुकार९ हेत्यै धनुष्कारं कर्मणे ज्याकारं दिष्टाय रज्जुसर्जं मृत्यवे मृगयुमन्तकाय श्वनिनम् ॥ ७ ॥

नदीभ्यः पौञ्जिष्ठमृक्षीकाभ्यो नैषादं पुरुषव्याघ्राय दुर्मदं गन्धर्वाप्सरोभ्यो व्रात्यं प्रयुग्भ्य उन्मत्त९ सर्पदेवजनेभ्योऽप्रतिपदमयेभ्यः कितवमीर्यतायाऽकितवं पिशाचेभ्यो विदलकारीं यातुधानेभ्यः कण्टकीकारीम् ॥ ८ ॥

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सन्धये जारं गेहायोपपतिमार्त्यै परिवित्तं निर्ऋत्यै परिविविदानमराध्या एदिधिषुःपतिं निष्कृत्यै पेशस्कारी ९ संज्ञानाय स्मरकारीं प्रकमोद्यायोपसदं वर्णायानुरुधं बलायोपदाम् ॥ ९ ॥

उत्सादेभ्यः कुब्जं प्रमुदे वामनं द्वाभ्यः स्रामꣳ स्वप्नायान्धमधर्माय बधिरं पवित्राय भिषजं प्रज्ञानाय नक्षत्रदर्शमाशिक्षायै प्रश्निनमुपशिक्षाया अभिप्रश्निनं मर्यादायै प्रश्नविवाकम् ॥ १० ॥

अर्मेभ्यो हस्तिपं जवायाश्वपं पुष्ट्यै गोपालं वीर्यायाविपालं तेजसेऽजपालमिरायै कीनाशं कीलालाय सुराकारं भद्राय गृहपꣳ श्रेयसे वित्तधमाध्यक्ष्यायानुक्षत्तारम् ॥ ११ ॥

भायै दार्वाहारं प्रभाया अग्रेधं ब्रन्धस्य विष्टपायाभिषेक्तारं वर्षिष्ठाय नाकाय परिवेष्टारं देवलोकाय पेशितारं मनुष्यलोकाय प्रकरितारꣳ सर्वेभ्यो लोकेभ्य उपसेक्तारमवक्रत्यै वधायोपमन्थितारं मेधाय वासःपल्पूलीं प्रकामाय रजयित्रीम् ॥ १२ ॥

ऋतये स्तेनहृदयं वैरहत्याय पिशुनं विविक्त्यै क्षत्तारमौपद्रष्ट्रयायानुक्षत्तारं बलायानुचरं भूम्ने पंकिष्कन्दं प्रियाय प्रियवादिनमरिष्ट्या अश्वसाद ९ स्वर्गाय लोकाय भागदुघं वर्षिष्ठायनकाय परिवेष्टारम् ॥ १३ ॥

मन्यवेऽयस्तापं क्रोधाय निसरं योगाय योक्तार ९ शोकायाभिसर्तारं क्षेमाय विमोक्तारमुत्कूल-निकूलेभ्यस्त्रिष्टिनं वपुषे मानस्कृत ९ शीलायाञ्जनीकारीं निर्ऋत्यै कोशकारीं यमायासूम् ॥ १४ ॥

यमाय यमसूमथर्वभ्योऽवतोकाꣳ संवत्सराय पर्यायिणीं परिवत्सरायाविजातामिदावत्सरायातीत्वरी-मिद्वत्सरायाः तिष्कद्वरीं मत्सराय विजर्जराꣳ संवत्सराय पलिक्नीमृभुभ्योऽजिनसन्ध ९ साध्येभ्यश्चर्मम्नम् ॥ १५ ॥

सरोभ्यो धैवरमुपस्थावराभ्यो दाशं वैशन्ताभ्यो वैन्दं नेड्वलाभ्यः शौष्कलं पाराय मार्गारमवाराय कैवर्तं तीर्थेभ्य आन्दं विषमेभ्यो मैनाल ९ स्वनेभ्यः पर्णकं गुहाभ्यः किरात ९ सानुभ्यो जम्भकं पर्वतेभ्यः किंपूरुषम् ॥ १६ ॥

बीभत्सायै पौल्कसं वर्णाय हिरण्यकारं तुलायै वाणिजं पश्चादोषाय ग्लाविनं विश्वेभ्यो भूतेभ्यः सिध्मलं भूत्यै जागरणमभूत्यै स्वपनमार्त्यै जनवादिनं व्युद्ध्या अपगल्भꣳ संशराय प्रच्छिदम् ॥ १७ ॥

अक्षराजाय कितवं कृतायादिनवदर्शं त्रेतायै कल्पिनं द्वापरायाधिकल्पिनमास्कन्दाय सभास्थाणुं मृत्यवे गोव्यच्छमन्तकाय गोघातं क्षुधे यो गां विकृन्तन्तं भिक्षमाण उपतिष्ठति दुष्कृताय चरकाचार्यं पाप्मने सैलगम् ॥ १८ ॥

प्रतिश्रुत्काया अर्तनं घोषाय भषमन्ताय बहुवादिनमनन्ताय मूकꣳ शब्दायाडम्बराघातं महसे वीणावादं क्रोशाय तूणवध्मवरस्पराय शङ्खध्मं वनाय वनपमन्यतोऽरण्याय दावपम् ॥ १९ ॥

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नर्माय पुंश्चलूꣳ हसाय कारिं यादसे शावल्यां ग्रामण्यं गणकमभिक्रोशंकं
तान्महसे वीणावादं पाणिघ्नं तूणवध्मं तान्नृत्तायानन्दाय तलवम् ॥ २० ॥

अग्नये पीवानं पृथिव्यै पीठसर्पिणं वायवे चाण्डालमन्तरिक्षाय वꣳशनर्तिनं दिवे खलति ꣳ सूर्याय
हर्यक्षं नक्षत्रेभ्यः किर्मिरं चन्द्रमसे किलासमह्ने शुक्लं पिङ्गाक्षꣳ रात्र्यै कृष्णं पिङ्गाक्षम् ॥ २१ ॥

अथैतानष्टौ विरूपानलभतेऽतिदीर्घं चातिह्रस्वं चातिस्थूलं चातिकृशं
चातिशुक्लं चातिकृष्णं चातिकुल्वं चातिलोमशं च ।
अशूद्रा अब्राह्मणास्ते प्राजापत्याः ।
मागधः पुंश्चली कितवः क्लीबोऽशूद्रा अब्राह्मणास्ते प्राजापत्याः ॥ २२ ॥

इति मन्त्रभाष्ये त्रिंशोऽध्यायः ॥

(to be continued in the
next issue of the Journal)

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A STUDY ON SANSKRIT GRAMMAR IN TIBETAN

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It is a known fact that though Buddhism technically entered into the Land of Snow from Nepal and China, still the actual spread of the *Dharma* in Tibet began only after a close contact of Pö(Bod) with India (rgya-gar). The first group of the Tibetan scholars entered into India in the mid-seventh century A.D. This group was headed by a minister of the King Sroṅ-tsen-gam-po. The king advised his minister Thon-mi Sam-bho-ta to come to India to learn the Sanskrit language as well as the Indian scripts. He visited Northern India and Kashmir and learnt the Indian scripts from Lipikāra and the Sanskrit language from Devavidyāsiṁha.

It is believed that there was no formal script in Tibet before the seventh century A.D. Thon-mi, after returning, devised thirty letters suitable to the Tibetan pronunciation, on the basis of the scripts like *Lan-tsha* and *Varttula,* which he had learnt from Lipikāra. He also composed formal grammar for the Tibetan Language. According to the Historians his grammar was written in eight books like that of the Sanskrit. Unfortunately, at present, we get only two books viz., the *Sum-ou-pa* (Skt. *Triṁśikā*) and the *rtags-kyi, jug-pa* (Skt. *Liṅgāvatāra*). The former one has thirty verses and the latter bears the rules regarding the gender of the letters, affix and prefix. S.C. Das, in this connection says that 'the work treating of the Tibetan alphabets and the manner of compounding them by affixes, prefixes, surmounting and subjoining letters to them.[1]'

During the seventh century A.D., both the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and the *Sūtras* of Cāndragomin were popular in India. Both the said works have eight chapters and four sub-chapters in each. It might, now, be argued that Thon-mi was influenced by either Pāṇini's work or that of the Cāndragomin's and after returning to his motherland, he might have composed his work on grammar with eight chapters, but not eight books, as suggested by the Tibetan and other scholars.

After the spread of Buddhism, the Tibetans showed their interest to learn the Buddhist religious literature and also the other Indian literature. To make popular the *Dharma*, they

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1. Das, S.C., *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (Compact Edition), 1985; p. 1272.

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began to translate Buddhist and Non-Buddhist Indian Literature in a great extent. It is evident from the extensive literature of translations from Sanskrit that was being produced at that time. The Tibetan scholars also have occupied themselves with mastering the problems of Sanskrit grammar, the most technical subject. According to our study the *Bye-brag-tu-rtogs-par-byed'pa Chen-po* (Skt. *Mahāvyutpatti*) is the earliest work which deals partly with the subject of Sanskrit grammar. This Lexicographical work contains a study on the declension of the noun *vṛkṣa*. Besides, a full section of this work is meant for thirty-one entries of the grammatical terms.[2] This Lexicographical work was compiled and composed by a group of Indian Pandits and Tibetan Lo-tsa-bas during the region of the king *Khri-lde-sron-btsan sad-na-legs* (799-815 A.D. ?)[3] and perhaps finished during the reign of his successor *Khri-gtsug-lde-btsan Ral-pa-can* (815-836 A.D.?)[4]. This work was intended to standardize and codify the Tibetan terminology used to translate Buddhist Sanskrit terms. In this connection Verhagen opines that "under the auspices of one or both of the kings mentioned above this process also involved revision of earlier translations and checking of new translations by a central committee of translators, in order to attain uniformity in terminology and translation-technique."[5]

Thus the study on the Sanskrit grammar began in Tibet from the early ninth century A.D. But during this time, not a single work was translated into Tibetan Language. The translation of the grammatical literature was commenced only after the second phase of the spread of Dharma in Tibet i.e. after eleventh century A.D. and this process continued till the end of the seventeen century A.D. as we have no information that a work on Sanskrit grammar was translated into Tibetan after this period. Here, for our practical purpose, we propose to focus on some aspects of the study of Sanskrit grammatical literature in Tibet. In a small paper, it is not possible to analyse all the works translated into Tibetan, but, we will try to precisely cover all the systems that were translated into Tibetan.

The history of translation activities in Tibet, if properly observed, may be divided into three periods. We may say that the first period was from mid-seventh century A.D. to the

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2. These entries are : *sūtram, dhātuḥ, nipātaḥ, anvākhyāna, upasargaḥ, vākyopanyāsaḥ, upasaṁkhyānam, samāsaḥ, samastaḥ karma, bhāvaḥ, saṁskṛtam, prākṛtam, apabhraṁśaḥ, paiśācikaḥ, kriyā padam, anavasthāprasaṅga, atiprasaṅga, prasaṅgaprasajyate, vigrahaḥ, dvandvaḥ, dviguḥ, tat-puruṣa, bahu-vrīhiḥ, avyayibhāvaḥ, karmadhārayaḥ, samānādhikaraṇa, kārakaḥ, prathama-puruṣa, madhyama-puruṣa and uttama-puruṣa.*

3. Verhagen, P.C.; *A History of Sanskrit Grammatical Literature in Tibet,* Volume 1; 1994; p. 16.

4. Shakabpa, T.S.D.; *Tibet-A Political History,* Yale University Press; 1967; p. 51.

5. *Ibid;* p. 16.

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mid-nineth century A.D. The translation activities, during this time, were encouraged by the kings of the Tibetan Royal Empire. After the death of the king Lang-dar-ma, the Tibetan Royal Empire was fallen and subsequently Buddhism got a set back and the primitive *Bon* religion began to rise. Although the last but one king of the Empire was a pro-Bon religious person.

Atīśa Dipaṅkara visited Tibet in the eleventh century A.D. He reached in the western Tibet in the year of 1042 A.D. and spread Buddhism again in the Land of Snow. He preached his teachings for twelve years and proceeded to Tusita in the year 1054 A.D.[6] After Atīśa, again, the translation of the texts began and from tweleth century A.D. to fourteenth century A.D., the majority of translations of Indic-Buddhist treatises were produced. Further, most of the materials on Sanskrit grammar found in the Tibetan Buddhist canon in the translation form, were done during this second phase.

The pge-lugs-pa sect began to dominate Tibet from fifteen century A.D. Their spiritual leader became the head of the Tibetan states from sixteenth century A.D.[7] onwards. Their political power was initially strengthened by their close ties with the Mongal kings, particularly the Manchu Dynasty[8]. During this period a good number of works were translated into Tibetan and some of the Sanskrit grammatical works were studied and translated at this time by the grace of the spiritual leaders of Tibet. It is interesting to note that the most popular and oldest available work on Sanskrit grammar, i.e. the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini attracted the notice of the Tibetan spiritual leaders only during this period.[9] However, we will discuss about the works translated during this period below.

At present we get forty-seven works translated directly from Sanskrit to Tibetan in different periods by the joint effort of the Indian and Tibetan scholars. In the first version of the *Bstan-g'yur,* we found only twenty-three Grammatical works. After the codification of the 1st version in the first half of the fourteenth century A.D., though the translation activities took second place to the writing of mainly exegetical literature in Tibetan, but they did not cease completely.[10] Thus a number of translations of Sanskrit grammatical treatises were added to *Bstan-'gyun* at a later date. In this connection Verhagen says that twenty-

6. Dash, N.K.; "Cultural Relations of India with Tibet and China" *The Tulasīprajñā;* vol. XIX; No. Three, 1993, p. 163.
7. Refer; Shakabpa, T.W.D.; *Tibet, a Political History;* Yale University Press; 1967; pp. 91-99.
8. *Ibid;* pp. 91-124.
9. Verhagen, however, classifies these three periods as pre-classical period, classical period and post-classical period.
10. Hoffmann, H; *Tibet, A Handbook;* Bloomington; 1975; pp. 202-203.

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four titles on Sanskrit grammar occurring in the eighteenth century editions of *Bstan-'gyur* are not mentioned in the fourteenth-century catalogues of the Zhe-lu *Bstan-'gyur,* and so must be considered later accretions to the canon.[11] Out of these forty-seven works, forty-one may be divided into five grammatical systems i.e. *Pāṇini, Cāndra, Kalāpa or Kātantra, Sārasvata* and *Mañjuśrī.* Some works, six in number, may not be affiliated to any particular system as we are not sure as to which the works belong. While the former four systems are quite popular in India, the last and the fifth one i.e. the *Mañjuśrīśabdalakṣaṇa* is obscure in the history of Sanskrit grammar. As far as my knowledge is concerned, two works (one text and the other is a commentary on it) of this system are found in Tibetan translation only.

Bu-ston, a fourteenth-century-Historian from Tibet does not mention the *Mañjuśrīśabdalakṣaṇa* as an existing system of grammar. He, however, says about a system named *Rājaśrī-vyākaraṇa.* Obermiller translates the view of Bu-ston as : 'Thereafter Pandit Rajacri has made a compendium of the *Kalāpa* and the *Cāndra-Vyākaraṇa;* his work is known as *Rajacri-vyākaraṇa.*[12] This *Rājacrivyākaraṇa* also could not attract the notice of the later historians like Taranath and Kon-sprul. This is also not found in its Sanskrit original and in Tibetan translation form. On the other hand the subject matter of the *Mañjuśrīśabdalakṣaṇa* is closely related to both the *Cāndra* and the *Kalāpa* systems. The text of the said grammar is divided into eight sections (Tib. *skabs*), each divided into four *pādas* (Tib. *rkan-pa*). The ordering of the material is extremely similar to the *Cāndra*'s grammar. Like the *Cāndra,* it may be broadly divided into two parts, the first dealing with morphology and the second with morphophonemics.[13] Dr. Verhagen gives two noteworthy points regarding its close relation with *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa.* Firstly the element - *śabda-lakṣaṇa* in the title of the treatise, which is reminiscent of the opening-verse of *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa,* where the author describes his grammar as a *śabda-lakṣaṇa* 'description of language', which is, 'short clear and complete'. Secondly, in the so - called *Śiva-sūtras,* the catalog of phonemes that preceded the text, the fifth *sūtra* reads *ha-ya-va-ra-laṇ,* just as in the *Cāndra Śiva-sūtras'.*[14] Again we notice the influence of the *Kalāpa* system on this work. For example, the suffixes *anti* and *anta,* the endings for the third person plural active and medium respectively are presented in this grammar like the *Kalāpa's.*[15] While *Pāṇini* and *Cāndra* mentions *jhi* and *jha* in the place of *anti* and *anta* respectively. In fact the whole presentation of the verbal suffixes in the grammar shows similarities with the tabulation as found in

11. Verhagen, P.C.; *Op. cit.* p. 108.
12. Obermiller, E; *History of Buddhism by Bu-ston;* Heidelbarg, 1931-1932;, P.II-169.
13. Verhagen, P.C.; *Op.cit;* pp. 126-127.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
15. *Ibid;* p. 128.

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Kalāpa. If we suggest that Bu-ston refers to this *Mañjuśrī-vyākaraṇa* in the name of *Rājaśrī-vyākaraṇa,* then the original work was composed before fourteenth century A.D., as Bu-Ston had written his treatise in 1322 A.D.

It is known from the Colophon of the work that Sādhukīrti (Tib. *legs-par grags-pa*) is the author of this work and he composed this by the grace of noble Mañjuśrīghoṣa. In the Tibetan tradition Mañjuśrī or Mañjughoṣa is associated with speech and language and therefore, he is called *Vāgīśvara* and *Vādirāja.*

Besides, there is a commentary on this text called *Aṣṭasāhasrikā.* The Tibetan title of the commentary is : *jam-dpal-gyi-sgra-brda-sprod-pai-'grel-ston-phrag-brgyad-pa.* It may be translated as 'commentary (in) eight thousand (verses/stanzas) on the grammar - the language of Mañjuśrī'. The author of this commentary is Rājadeva (Tib. *rgyal-po'i-lha*). The commentary is not complete and it covers the basic text upto the end of the second *pāda* of the fifth section. In the concluding line of the sub-section, the author is described as *rgyal-po'i-lha,* king-scholar of the country of the Boddhisattva, noble soverign of Kaliṅga viz., *dpal-ldan-ka-linga'i-dban-phyug-byan-chub-sems-dpa'i-yul-gyi-slob-dpon-rgyal-po'i-lhas-rnam-pan-bkod-pa.....etc.*[16].

The original text and the commentary on it were translated into Tibetan by Dharmapālabhadra (Tib. *Chos-skyon-bzan-pa*) from *Za-lu.* It is known from the Colophon of another work entitled the *Sambandha-siddhy-abhidhāna-prakriyā* (Tib. *'brel-ba-grub-pa-zes-bya-ba'i-rab-tu-byed-pa;* Derge: 4278) that he was from 'Gos family.[17] The translator received the *dge-tshul* ordination at the age of twenty-one in 1462 A.D. and that of *dge-slon* at the age of twenty-six in the year 1466 A.D.[18] He studied Sanskrit grammar from various teachers and from 1465 he studied the *Kalāpa* system in za-lu under *gnas-brton-legs-rgyal.*[19]'

He contributed eleven translations to the Peking edition of the *Bstan-'gyur,* three in the *tantra* section and eight in the *sūtra* section.[20] Though only two grammatical translations of our translator occur in the Peking version, still two more translations of the grammatical treatises viz., the *sambandha-siddhya-bhidhāna-pakriyā* and the *Uṇādivṛtti* (Tib. *U-n-a-lao-*

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16. Refer The text in the Peking version of the *Bstan-gyur;* p. 5rr 4-5.
17. Refer; Verhagen, P.C.; *Op. cit.* pp. 277-278.
18. Refer, Mkhas-btsun-bzan-po; *Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism,* Vol. II; 1973-1980; pp. 191-194.
19. *Ibid;* pp. 192-193.
20. Verhagen, P.C.; *Op. cit.* p. 148.

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sogs-pa'i-grel-pa; Derge: 4279) occur in the Derge and co-ne versions. These two works are affiliated to the Cāndra-system of Sanskrit grammar.

It has been said earlier that the works belonging to the *Pāṇini-vyākaraṇa* did not attract the notice of the Tibetan Lo-tsa-bas until the 17th century A.D. During the time of Fifth Dalai Lama, three works of this system were translated into Tibetan and only one treatise was translated in the second phase of translation activities. These works are : (i) *Pāṇini-dhātu-sūtra* (Tib. *Pā-ṇi-ni'i byins-kyi mdo;* Peking : 5913); (ii) *Pāṇini-vyākaraṇa-sūtra* (Tib. *brda-sprod-pa pa-ṇi-ni'i mdo;* Peking : 5414); (iii) *Pāṇini-vyākaraṇa-sambandhi-sūtrodāharaṇādi viśiṣṭhārthaviśeṣaḥ* (Tib. *brda-sprod-pa'i bstan-bcos-chen-po pa-ṇi-ni-bya-ka-ra-na gzhun-'grel-gyi go-don-cho-ga-dpar-brjed-sogs-zin-bris-su-bkod-pa-legs-bsad-nor-bu-'dren-pa'i-sin-rta (-zhas-bya-ba;* Peking : 5915) and (iv) *Prayogamukhavṛtti* (Tib. *rab-tu-sbyor-ba'i-sgo'i-'grel-pa;* Peking 2781).

The first treatise is a work on the verbal roots containing a systematic enumeration of the primitive verbal bases and their denotations, belonging to the Pāṇinian system. The second one is on the *sūtras* of Pāṇini, but not in the order which is found in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī.* Here the translator follows the arrangement of the *sūtras* as found in the *Prakriyā-Kaumudī* of Rāmachandra. This text includes the *Vārttikas* and the *Uṇādisūtras.* Like the *Prakriyā-kaumudī* (PK), a good number of the *sūtras* from the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* are not included in this text. It omits totally the *sūtras* that are meant for the Vedic accents. The next text is a true translation of the PK. This seems to be the voluminous treatise in the Tibetan corpus of the Sanskrit grammatical literature. Though the PK. has served as the basis of the translation of the text, the *sūtras* of the *ākhyāta* section have been extended slightly and some other sections that are easy to understand have been reduced.

All these three works were translated into Tibetan by the grace of Fifth Dalai Lama. He had supplied all the sorts of materials for this translation. The *Dhātusūtras* of Pāṇini (Bhīmasena's) were translated at Potala in the year of 1685 A.D. by the joint effort of Indian Pandita Kṛṣṇodaya and the Lo-tsa-ba dkon-mchog-ches-grags. In the Colophon of the work, the translators write - *zes-pa-byins-kyi-glegs-bam-pa-ndi-ta-'jigs-sdes-mdzad-pa-re-zig-rdzogs-so*[21]. It means : Thus the textbook of verbal roots, written by Bhīmasena, has been completed. From the same source it is known to us that Kṛṣṇodaya was born in a Brahmin family and belonged to Kurukṣetra[22]. The *sūtras* of Pāṇini were translated into Tibetan by the joint effort of Balabhadra and *Nag-dban-phun-tshogs-lhun-grub* in the *'bras-spuns* monastery. According to the Colophon of this text, Balabhadra also, like Kṛṣṇodya, belonged

21. The Peking version 358 r 2.

22. *Ibid;* 358r 2-4.

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to Kurukṣetra. Again the same source contains that the translation is based on the commentary written by Rāmachandra.[23] The third text was completed between 1658-1660 A.D.[24] and translated by the two Brahmin brothers from Kurukṣetra alongwith the *Lo-tsa-ba-Nag-dban-phun-tshogs-lhun-grub* in the *'bras-spuns* monastery. This very monastery is situated in the centre of the province *Dbus* in Tibet. The commentary written by Rāmacandra, entitled the PK. served as basis for this translation.

Again, it may not be out of context here to mention that though the PK. served as the basic text for the translation of the Pāṇini-*sūtras,* still some *sūtras* which are not found in the PK. have been inserted in the translation. According to the observation of Mukhopadhyayas[25], a good number of *sūtras* and *vārttikas* were taken from the *Siddhāntakaumudī* (SK.) of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita. Thus, the two translators not only consulted the only *Prakriyā-grantha* of Rāmacandra, but, they also consulted the other *Prakriyā-granthas.*

The *Prayogamukhavṛtti* is a prose commentary on a basic text in verse-form. The original verses are not quoted here separately, but they have been incorporated into the body of the commentary text. The translation of this text is incomplete. It covers only the sections on Syntax and semantics of the case-relations (Skt. *Kāraka;* Tib. *byed-pa'i-tshig* and *Skt. Samāsa;* Tib *tshig-sdud*). It seems to be closely related to the Pāṇinian system of Sanskrit grammar, but it cannot be ruled out that it belongs to the *Cāndra* system. The technical terms employed for the *Kārakas* appear to be a mixture of Pāṇinian and Cāndra technical terms. The terms like *Kartṛ, Karaṇa, saṁpradāna* are common to either system, while *karman* and *apādāna* are typical for Pāṇini, but *ādhāra* as a *kāraka* term is typical for *Cāndra.*[26]

The *Cāndra* and *Kalāpa* systems are most popular Sanskrit grammars in the Buddhist traditions in general. Keith opines that these two systems were generally current among the Buddhists in northern India in the mediaeval time.[27] Since the Tibetans mainly came into contact with the Buddhists traditions in Northern India, *Cāndra* and *Kalāpa* would be the grammatical systems they would become acquainted with. Therefore, it is obvious that the Tibetan scholars preferred to translate these two systems into their own language. It is also known from the biography of *Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub* (1290-1364 A.D.)[28], which was written

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23. *Ibid;* 312v 2-6.
24. Verhagen, P.C.; *Op.cit.* p. 318.
25. Mukhopadhyaya, S.K.
26. Verhagen, P.C.; *Op. cit.;* pp. 74-75.
27. Keith, A.B.; *A History of Sanskrit Literature,* Oxford; 4928; p. 431.
28. Refer; Verhagen, P.C.; *Op. cit;* p. 52.

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by his student *Rin-chen-rnam-rgyal* (1318-1388 A.D.)[29], that his study of Sanskrit grammar centered principally around these two systems.[30] 'As the *Cāndra* and *Kalāpa* systems formed the core of the grammatical curriculum in Tibet, it stands to reason that they figure prominently in the canonical corpus on Sanskrit grammar'[31]. Of the forty-seven titles translated into Tibetan, 19 can be affiliated to *Cāndra* system and 13 to *Kalāpa*.

Kon-sprul suggests that Candragomin had composed seven hundred verses, divided into twenty-four sub-chapters.[32] Indeed, the *sūtra* text of Candragomin consists of six chapters of four *pādas* each and contains 3,100 *sūtras*. On the other hand, Bu-ston opines that the original text has thirty-two sub-chapters and seven hundred verses.[33] It is believed that the *Cāndra-sūtra*-text was originally of eight chapters and four *pādas* in each, but, the seventh and eighth chapters of the original book are missing now. The *sūtra* text of this system which has been translated into Tibetan during 13th or 14th century A.D. has only six chapters concerning morphology, morphophonomics and semantics of classical Sanskrit.[34] Besides, the *Bstan'gyur* also possesses separate works on the 'commentary on the verbal preparations'[35] on 'nominal declension'[36] and on 'verbal conjugation'[37]. These are all the supplementary texts in the *Cāndra* system.

The second of the two most important Sanskrit grammatical systems in Tibet is the *Kalāpa* grammar. Sarvavarman is said to be its original author. In the Tibetan literature the author of the *Kalāpa* grammar has been given quite a few different names viz., Saptavarman, Sarvavarman, Śarvavarman and Īśvaravarman on *dban-phyug-go-cha*.[38] The *sūtra*-text of this

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29. *Ibid;* p. 52.
30. Ruegg, D.S.; *The life of Bu-Ston Rin-po-che with the Tibetan Text of the Bu-ston-rnam-thar;* Roma; 1966; p. 81.
31. Verhagen, P.C.; *Op.cit;* p. 52.
32. *Ibid;* p. 190.
33. Obermiller; E; *Op. cit.* p. II-133.
34. Verhagen, P.C.; *Op.cit.;* pp. 185-193.
35. There are two commentaries in the *Bstan-'gyar* on the verbal prepositions viz. the *Viṁśatyupasargavṛtti* (Tib. *e-bar-bsgyur-ba-ni-su-pa'i-'grel-pa;* Peking 5768) and the *Upasarga-lakṣaṇa-bhāṣya* (Tib. *ner-bsgyar-gyi-mtshan-nid-kyi-bs'ad-pa;* Peking; 5786).
36. There are three works on this subject viz., the *Vibhaktikārikā* (Tib. *rnam-dbye'i-tshing-le'ur-byas-pa;* Peking 5772); the *Subanta-ratnā-kāra* (Tib. *su-pai-mtha'-rin-chen-'byun-gnas;* Peking : 5894) and the *Vyākaraṇasubanta* (Tib. *lun-du-ston-pa-su-panta;* Peking 5895).
37. There is only a single treatise on this subject affiliated to the Cāndra system. The title of the work is *tiṅanta* (Tib. *tin'i-mtha;* Peking 5773).
38. Verhagen, P.C.; *Op.cit.* p. 193.

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system is supposed originally to have consisted of four chapters of four *pādas* each. The third and fourth chapters were merged later and a new chapter on the *kṛt* suffixes was added by another author. Again, some more additions, in verse form, were interested in the other chapters to cover *taddhita* suffixes, nominal composition and feminine nominal suffixes.[39] The state of the *Kātantra-sūtra*-text on which Durgasiṁha composed his commentary is identical with the one found in the Tibetan translation of this *sūtra*-text.[40] It represents the second stage of the development of this text. According to Verhagen, the said work contains the four chapters on (i) *sandhi;* (ii) nominal declension, case-syntax and case-semantics, nominal composition and secondary nominal derivations; (iii) verbal conjugation and (iv) primary nominal derivations.[41] Again the same scholar suggests that "the most extensive version of the *Kātantra (kalāpa)* is exemplified by the commentary entitled *Śiṣyahitā,* only known in the Tibetan version. Here the four books consist of six, seven-eight and six *pādas* respectively, which is possibly typical of a Kashmiri tradition."[42] Besides, this system has also some supplementary works. In the Tibetan canon, we have such works like treatises on *syādi* i.e. nominal declension and *tyādi* i.e. verbal conjugation.

Bu-ston and Tārānāth do not mention anything about the *Sārasvata-vyākaraṇa. Kon-sprul-blo-gros-mtha'-yas,* however, says that the author or the *sūtra*-text of the system is Anubhūti, a Maharashtrian Brahmin. This author is known in the Indian tradition as Anubhūtisvarūpacārya. In Tibet the basic *sūtra*-text was translated twice. The first translation was done by Tārānātha, the famous polymath of the *jo-nan-pa* school, together with Paṇḍita Kṛṣṇa.[43] The second one on the *Sārasvata-sūtra*-text[44] was translated in 17th century A.D. by *Nag-dban-phun-tshogs-thun-grub* along with two Indian brothers from Kurukṣetra i.e. Balabhadra and Gokulanath Mishra. The same team also produced a translation of the *Prakriyā-caturā* commentary. Thus, in the Tibetan canon we have three translation works on the *Sārasvata* system.[45]

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39. Refer; Scharfe, H; *Grammatical literature. A History of Indian Literature,* Vol. V; Fasc. 2, (ed. J. Gonda), Wlesbanden; 1977; pp. 162-163.
40. Cf; the *Ka-la-pa'i mdo;* Peking 5775.
41. Verhagen, P.C., *Op.cit.* p. 196.
42. *Ibid;* p. 196.
43. The title of the work is : *Sarasvatī-vyākaraṇa* (Tib. *brda sprod-pa-dbyans-can;* Peking : 5886).
44. The title of this work is : *Sarasvativyākaraṇa-sūtra* (Tib. *brda-sprod-pa'i-dbyans-can-gy;mdo,* Peking : 5911).
45. The title of the treatise is : *Sarasvatī-vyākaraṇavṛttiprakriyā-catura* (Tib. : *dbyans-can-bya-ka-ra-na'i 'grel-pa-rab-tu-bya-ba-gsal-ldan;* Peking : 5912).

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Thus, the Tibetan Canon contains forty-seven grammatical works on five grammatical systems. Besides, some works on the philosophy of the grammar were also translated into Tibetan by the joint efforts of the Indian Paṇḍits and Tibetan Lo-tsa-bas. While, they translated a particular text, they never forgot to consult the other supplementary or similar texts for a better understanding of the problems relating to the particular text which they have undertaken to translate. Now, we may safely opine that the study on the *Śabdavidyā* or the Sanskrit grammar was not confined within India, but, it was highly accepted by the Tibetan scholars.

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THE UṆĀḌI-PĀṬHA OF BUDDHISĀGARASŪRI

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The *Uṇādi-sūtras* are rules which provide for introducing certain affixes after verb roots to derive nominal bases. These rules are called *'Uṇādi'* (i.e. *Uṇ,* etc.), because the first rule provides for affixing the termination *'uṇ'*(= *'u'*) to a series of roots to derive nominals such as *Kāru* 'artisan' (from *kṛ* 'to make'), *Vāyu* 'wind' (from *vā* 'to blow'). In the Pāṇinian tradition, the rules are contained in two versions of treatises, one divided into five sections and called the *Pañcapādī,* and the other divided into ten sections and called *Daśapādī.* Paṇḍita Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṁsaka has convincingly set forth the evidence to show that the *Daśapādī* version is later than, and in fact, based on, the *Pañcapādī* version, which is usually commented upon by the Pāṇinīyas, like Ujjvaladatta. Commentators themselves do not agree regarding the authorship of these rules. Some attribute them to Śākaṭāyana, others to Kātyāyana, and still others to Pāṇini, while some others merely refer to them as the work of another school. It is patent that Pāṇini knew a set of affixes beginning with *'Uṇ'* and that he accepted some of the derivations involving these. Belvalkar, K.Madhava Krishna Sharma and Renou pointed out conflicts between Pāṇinian rules and *Uṇādi-sūtras.* The most acceptable view in accord with the evidence appears to Cardona to be that not all the rules which appear in the *Uṇādi* treatises we have can be Pāṇini's, as is clear from the conflicts between the works. Further, Pāṇini's referring to *Uṇādi* affixes does not mean that he himself compiled a list of such affixes. The only certain is that Pāṇini knew of *Uṇādi* affixes and accepted some of the derivations involving them.[1]

The *Uṇ-ādi* affixes headed by the affix *'uṇ'* are similar to *'kṛt'* affixes of Pāṇini, giving derivation mostly of such words as are not derived by rules of Pāṇini. No particular sense, such as agent, object, etc., is mentioned in connection with these affixes, but, as Pāṇini has stated in his *sūtra 'Tābhyām anyatroṇādayaḥ'* (P. Aṣṭ 3.4.75), the various *Uṇādi* affixes are applied to the various roots as prescribed in any *Kāraka* sense, except the *Sampradāna* and the *Apādāna;* in other words, any one of the senses such as agent, object, instrument and abode, is assigned to the *Uṇādi* affix as suits the meaning of the word. Patañjali apparently

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* 17/176, Vidyanagar Society, Near Himmatlal Park, Polytechnic, Ahmedabad-380 015.

1. Cardona, *Paṇini - A Survey of Research,* pp. 170-174.

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ascribes the collection to Śākaṭāyana, as seen from an interesting passage of the *Mahābhāṣya* on the Pāṇinian *sūtra 'Uṇādayobahulam'* (P. Aṣṭ. 3.3.1.). And, he has given a very interesting discussion about these *Uṇādi* affixes and stated on the strength of the *Vārtika 'Tatroṇādi-pratiṣedhaḥ'*, that these affixes and the words given in the *Uṇādi* collection should not be considered as genuinely derived. Since the derivation is not a very systematic and logically correct one, for practical purpose, the words derived by the application of the affixes *'uṇ'* and others should be looked upon as underived (*avyutpannāni prātipadikāni*)[2].

While Śarvavarman, the author of the *Kātantra* did not compose his *Uṇādi-sūtras,* it was Durgasiṁha who added them to his system, although some hold that these *sūtras* proper are composed by Indragomin and adopted in the *Kātantra.* It has 399 *sūtras* and 255 *pratyayas.*[3]

Pāṇini has treated his *Uṇādi,* in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* from 3.3.1 onwards, and it refers to the *Uṇādi-pāṭha* containing 748 *sūtras* divided into five *pādas*, ascribed to Śākaṭāyana.

Candra takes up the *Uṇādis* from 1.3.1 onwards in his *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa,* and it refers to the *Cāndra-uṇādi-pāṭha* consisting of 328 *sūtras* divided into three *pādas.*[4]

Jainendra starts his *Uṇādis* from 2.2.167 (JM) or 2.2.182 (JS). So far as the independent *Uṇādi-pāṭha* of this school is concerned, it has not yet come to light. And, of the *Uṇādi-sūtras* quoted by Abhayanandin in his *Mahāvṛtti,* some are similar to those of the *Pañcapādī,* while others differ, and still others are such that they utilise the *Saṅjnās* peculiar to Jainendra, thus indicating the possibility of an independent *Uṇādi-pāṭha* of the school.[5]

Modern Jain Śākaṭāyana treats his *Uṇādis* from the *sūtra* 4.3.280, onwards. By this he seems to refer to his own *Uṇādi-pāṭha* which contained four or five *pādas.*[6]

Buddhisāgara has treated his *Uṇādis* under the *sūtra 'Ity uṇādayaḥ'* (4.1.3.4), i.e. the fourth *sūtra* of the third verse of the first *pāda* of the fourth *adhyāya*, of his *Pañcagranthī*

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2. Abhyankar K.V., and Shukla, J.M.- *Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar,* p. 78.
3. Dviveda, Janakiprasada - *Kātantra-vyākaraṇa-vimarśaḥ* (Skt.) Sampūrṇānanda Saṁskṛta Viśvavidyālaya, Varanasi, 1975, p. 19
4. Misra, Harsanatha - *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa-vṛtteḥ Samālocanātmakam Adhyayanam* (Skt.) Śrī-lālabahāduraśāstri-kendrīyasaṁskrta-vidyāpīṭham, New Delhi, 1974, p. 174.
5. Mīmāṁsaka, Yudhiṣṭhira - *Prastāvanā* (Hin.) entitled *'Jainendra Śabdānuśāsana Tathā Usake Khila-pāṭha'*, p.47, *Pujyapāda Devanandin's Jainendra-vyākaraṇam with Jainendra-Mahāvṛtti,* edt. Śambhunātha Tripāṭhī and Mahādeva Caturvedi. Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, Kāśī, 1956.
6. Birwe, R - Introduction, p.104, *Śākaṭāyana-vyākaraṇam,* edt. Śambhunātha Tripāṭhi. Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, Varanasi, 1971.

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Vyākaraṇa which consists of *sūtras* set into verses in different *pādas* of different *adhyāyas.* His *Uṇādi-pāṭha* consists of 46 verses incorporating the *Uṇādi-sūtras* of his school, which are further explained fully. Both the verses and their explanation comprise the Auto-commentary on the *sūtra* 4.1.3.4.

This text of the *Uṇādi-pāṭha* of Buddhisāgara has been prepared as a part of the critical edition of the whole work, based on four original manuscripts, three of them on paper and one on palm-leaf, viz., Patan 6608, Patan 6833, Baroda 46, and LD 6035. While the whole of the *Pañcagranthī Vyākāraṇa* of Buddhisāgarasūri has been critically edited, only the *Uṇādipāṭha,* comprising about 1/33rd part of the whole text, is presented here as this paper.

॥ बुद्धिसागरसूरिकृत उणादिपाठः ॥

इत्युणाद्याः ॥ [४/१/३/४] भ्वादेर्बहुलं स्युः । ये यतस्ते चामी, त्रिंशत्तथा पञ्चदशाधिकेह-

उण् अशूस्वदिसाधिमिपाजिकृ वा सनि दृ चरि जनि चटेस्तलितः ।
कृकवाकु जरायु च शारुकिमः उरणोभृमृतृचरिमस्जितनेः ॥ १ ॥

वसिशीत्रपिपट्यसि बन्धेन्दिहन्मनिन्यश्चिक्लदेर्मनिजन्यचि नाधत ।
नास्किवगुर्वसितश्च फलेः कुरिषेर्भिदिपृमधि मृध्यधितः ॥ २ ॥

गृधृषिनोऽदिवसश्रप ऊरुः कृग्रुतुसिन्धुभृगूपशुरज्जुः ।
आखु बहुशकतर्कुहरिद्रुशङ्कुशरुद्रुतुसित्रपुसुप्तु ॥ ३ ॥

दुष्टुरपष्टुधनुस्वरुमध्वपत्सुस्वरु च मितद्रु च तुत्सोः ।
गम्मसि सक्यवतक्रुशिधाञ्भृः णिच्चवसेर्जनिननिहिभ्यः ॥ ४ ॥

यात्वमुजीवात्रुतु केतु पीतु गात्वेधतुः स्याद् वहतुश्च कारुः ।
क्रतुर्मदीस्तनुपुषिगद्धृषिभ्यः णेरित्वुरेणु कृहञो नु [दा-] भः ॥ ५ ॥

रेणुवर्णुसूनुविष्णुः वेनुजहनुवेणुवग्रु - ।
स्थाणुनक्षिपोऽनुश्च भुज्जनेदसेर्मनेः क्युः ॥ ६ ॥

आतुकुसुत्युधुकित्कृषिह्रीषु मृड्श्य इदं सृ च युः शू न श्व प्रः ।
ऊक्ररुरूखरु शच्च मेरु श्मश्रु च शिग्रु च पेरु यवागूः ॥ ७ ॥

डूर्भ्रमेरू चमेस्तच्च षश्छः कषे येद्दरि द्रस्तिरो तु दृ जम्बूः ।
शृधुरन्द्वलाबूकसेरुरनुनृत्व तु दृन्भुकर्पूश्च कासूदिधिष्वौ तथा ॥ ८ ॥

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प्रह्वः सर्जूश्च कर्कन्धूः खर्ज्वादिश्च दिवेर्क्रः च ।
ङ्रिभ्यः पितृननाद्रप्लुभ्रातृदुहितरस्तथा ॥ ९ ॥

जामातृमातृस्वसृनप्तृनेष्टृत्वष्टृ प्रशास्तृ क्षतृ होतृपोतृ ।
इः कीगुपान्तात् क्रमदिन्मुनिश्च नभ्रञिवृञ्वस्वपणित् हनेः स्रः ॥ १० ॥

घस्रश्यजो जन्पणतेरिणश्रिवीनिविपक्षीकरि भूमीसखादयः ।
सार्यगतिभ्योऽथिनुरीथिसञ्जासः थिग्नीदलेभिः कुपसेः त्सिरन्ति जूः ॥ ११ ॥

रश्मार्भिभूमिशदिरस्त्रिभूस्वदेः क्रिन्कण्मूरीच्यञ्जिशकोऽलिजुन्तिचौ ।
अन्तिर्भुवो धाम्यशिवृद्धृसृग्रहवृतोऽनिः क्षिपणिरस्त्वगे निः ॥ १२ ॥

श्रिवहि श्रयुवशकुनिर्णि वियो धृणिपार्ष्णि च चूर्णिसृर्णा ।
विनतच्छविदीदिविदीविकृविच्छविनीर्विव जागृचि जीर्विवशीविधुची ॥ १३ ॥

वृद्रोश्च पातेर्डति दृञ्वसेः क्तिन् बह्वस्यमोऽतिगमिरश्च डोडौ ।
डो ग्लानुदेस्तन्द्र चई च तॄ स्तः । ययी पपी प्रमी च लक्ष्मीः ॥ १४ ॥

कापाकृदाधाशलिरार्चिमार्चीणभीभ्यः क यूकाभ्रकहाकनेकः ।
उल्का च धूका सृकमुष्कवल्काऽनीकावृकहीकभुकोदकानि ॥ १५ ॥

सुकोल्भुकस्यमिकाश्च पृथुकः कुश्च भोजहः ।
कृषोर्जार्वा किकद्वृश्चिमृषेराङः पणेः पतेः ॥ १६ ॥

इद्यः स्यमो भीशीङ आनको कृत्तिक्लृतेः तिक् च शिघेर्णिको न ।
क्तकन्निषेः स्याद् बलिपत्त आकः श्यामाकखर्जकपिन्मन्तडिभ्यः ॥ १७ ॥

कीकन्नलीषो कु मृदेर्ऋहीका स्तस्तत्कणेस्तिन्तिडकिङ्कणौ च ।
स्तो जूचरौ जर्जरचञ्चरौ च वुङ्क्रादितो मण्डिशलेश्चणूकः ॥ १८ ॥

उलूको भल्लूको मधूको जलूका समैः खो मुहेः शिखा गः पते गाङ्मुदेर्गृ-
गमेर्गस्तु शृङ्गाङ्गभृङ्गजनेर्यः कचेः च्छः शकादेरटन् स्यात् ॥ १९ ॥

कृतॄकृपः कीट जटा च लोष्ठो धातुस्तु गेडठश्च कमो ण्ड वृञ्कुः ।
ऊर्णोर्ड नो त्रम् कणिमुण्गुणादेः झञ्जूवशेरुन्तशकेः शमेर्ढः ॥ २० ॥

झट् नन्दिजीवे रुहिसाधिभासेः भूगण्डिहेम्वस्वहिमण्डियद्भ्यः
अद्दोत् तुम श्याहरुहेरिनोऽत भृञादितो रञ्जिपृषेः कतस्तन् ॥ २१ ॥

गृवामलूपूङनदन्हसीणः तान्तो घृतं द्यूतसिते च तातः ।
स्यात् सूरतं च पलितं च जर्तः शंवञ्चिशय्यावसथोऽथ इष्टः ॥ २२ ॥

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ऊथं च वृञ्कुषिगार्त्युषः क्थन् रम्काषिपातृकुषितुद्वचेःस्यृकन् ।
रिच स्पृचिर्यूथनिशीथगूथ गोवीथपृष्कं समिथो निरूथम् ॥ २३ ॥

न्लोपोयुरुन्देस्तनवीपतिभ्यां दः कम्पशेः वृन्दमथापृकुन्दौ ।
श्यादश्च मन्दादिरिनच् ह्वस्त्यः श्यादक्षिद्रुभ्यो वृजिनाजिनं च ॥ २४ ॥

इरिणं विपिनं तुहिनं महिनं रशिवृभ्रुचिरोयोजघश्च हनिः ।
रजिकृवृजिपृमदिधः क्युडिधः रिधृषेः ब्रध्नुवशितृकृवृधः ॥ २५ ॥

न सिद्रोः स्वपितो नगुषीणविधाकृषिपृपरितृरतितश्च बुधेः ।
उनदारियमर्जिकृपुः शकुनः फगिफौ गुरिरः सुरपः क्पुलपं विटपः ॥ २६ ॥

विष्टपकुणिपविशिपखजपाः पृपातलेः पजध्वस्तोः ।
युकुसूनां किद्वाष्पं शष्पं शिल्पं च रूपादिः ॥ २७ ॥

श्लक्ष्णं कृणं कृत्स्नं रास्नापि च सास्ना ।
स्थूणापि च वीणा तीक्ष्णं स्नकि रूपम् ॥ २८ ॥

गृश्रोवलिघश्विसिकण् खटेः कन् ग्रवोल्वशम्वशिवशर्वनिम्बाः ।
शुल्वं च जिह्वापि च बिम्बकाद्याः वल्लूरासिकृगर्दशरोऽभ किच्च ॥ २९ ॥

वृपृष्योर्भः गृदृस्त्विणोऽशौ किदूमः गुधेश्चाथो मः क्षियामक्षिणिधृस्तुहूस्तोः ।
पदिक्षोः मना ग्रसग्रहेः स्मक् सूचेः हिधूश्यायुधिधेर्जनेर्मक् ॥ ३० ॥

पुग्वा भियो युज्जुजितिजाधमः ग्रीष्मश्च वर्मो क्यतनेः हृञो दु कित् ।
आय्यः स्पृहेः स्यन्मद इष्य भुज्जुजे एणाण्यनौ व्रः क्य पुणेर्हिरण्यम् ॥ ३१ ॥

पर्जन्य धिष्ण्यशक्यानि या माच्छाससिसोस्तथा ।
जाया कन्या च सन्ध्या च वन्ध्याद्या इह कीर्तिताः ॥ ३२ ॥

मद्यङ्किचत्वाशिमथस्वसेरुरो दृदन्मुग्व्यधेः किदिर्वन्ध्रुधेति- ।
म्मदिभ्यः स्थाछद्यजेश्च शिशिरः खदिरः शके रक् तकक् च चन्दिचकिमन्दशुभिवृतादिभ्यः ॥ ३३ ॥

नीवीछिदिक्षिपिदहः श्वितितृप्मुदि च दीर्घोऽमिदूजितमउद्रउतोस्रतुञौ ।
भद्रोग्रकृच्छ्रमथ दभ्र उताग्रशुक्राः धाण्णू सुधो षिमिडिदी च वृध्वधीन्त्रजे रन् ॥ ३४ ॥

ट्कत्सूषिमुभ्य इति वृञ्कडिनक्ष्यमो त्रन् मद्यक्ष्वतेः सरः कृधूतनितः तसरोऽरः ।
भ्रम्वासिदेवि वद आरकडङ्गिमन्देः मङ्भृङ्गकश्चिमृजिशृङ्ग उरन् क्रमेश्च ॥ ३५ ॥

श्रः करः कित् पुषः क्षीय ईरट् च शौट्कृशूः ईरडवशोः कित् ।
कुटीरं पटीरं च गम्भीर ऊरं मसेर्ण्यञ्जनोऽरो वदेर्वाच ठोडदित् तथा ॥ ३६ ॥

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चक्कठोरोर डोरो घुणेः स्याद् द्वरः शूकटे चूश्चतः पीवरं चीवरम् ।
नीवरं तीवरं गह्वरं छित्वरः छत्वरो धीवरः टित्त्रदश्चक्रम् ॥ ३७ ॥

पूरकृपूपिञ्जशवादितोर्म इत्रोत्ररूरोलकलाः पिशंशुः ।
त्रत्वं मिदेः पूपुतमेश्च भूषणं पचण्ड आलम् कुणि पीत आलक् ॥ ३८ ॥

क्मलंकुटोऽलं च गमेर्वलञ्वलौ श्रियोऽथ शकृतंकृवृभृश्च पल्वल- ।
चषालमालाः शिथिलं च तण्डुलः कीनाश दासाङ्कुशमिल्वलादिकाः ॥ ३९ ॥

भण्ड्यङ्गिपीयूमञ्जुत ऊषपूकुषं कृतृत ईषश्च शिरम्बरपुरः ।
रुह्यव्यथाविष्टिषकिल्बिषं तथा गम्बं तरीष्यादिसमानिकष्यसेः ॥ ४० ॥

वृतूकमेर्हन्वदक्रष्वृपिस्रुवः सक् चम्युपन्नभ्यदिदो स तुड्वियः ।
कुः पास को दुग्ह सिचेः कि दीर्घता श्रिद्रुस्रुजूष्वां स वचिप्रच्छेर्गमः ॥ ४१ ॥

द्वे व्राज्युरेर्वश्वणितः किजिः स्रुवः चिचेऽति मुग्रो न च मुद्गृतद्ग्रहेः ।
युष्हस्त्विति श्रोऽदिदरः पृगृच्च डित् त्यद्यत्तमेर्यद्यषसेः कनिवृषेः ।
राज्धन्वतक्षेः प्रतिदिवद्युवो मन् पृद्बृहमहिभ्यः रात्रि मातरिश्वन् ॥ ४२ ॥ षट्पदम् ॥

व्योमन्वेमन्सामन्होमन्रोमन्लोमन्पूषन्मज्जन् ।
प्लीहन्नर्वन्नुक्षन्मूर्धन् श्वश्वेत्याद्याः कन्मनन्ताः ॥ ४३ ॥

मद्यवन्निमन्निमिर्गम्पथिमथ्यृभुक्षेः आगम्भुवो णित् परमेस्तु कित्स्थः ।
छृद्यर्चिछोदेः सृपिशुज्हुरुज्भ्यः इसि द्युतादेरुसिपूवपित्रप् ॥ ४४ ॥

जद्धन्यजर्णिशिदिणोऽथ चक्षः कनस् वसेरिण्विधितोऽसि चन्द्रात् ।
मो डित् पयोधः पुरसो णिदग्वसदुषो यजेः शो जुरुषेः रमेर्भुक् ।
इण्श्योर्नुपुड्तुट् स्त्ररियः छदेनुम् ऋः शुट् च व्याधावुदके नुडिष्टः ॥ ४५ ॥

षट्पदीसूत्रम् ॥

सम्प्रति भूत भविष्यति कालेऽनद्यतनेऽपि भवन्ति क्रियायाम् ।
कारक एक इमे यत उक्तास्ते परतोऽपि भवन्ति ततोऽन्ये ॥ ४६ ॥

बहुलार्थीयम् ॥

अश्वादितलान्तेभ्यः कर्तर्यादावुण् । आशु त्वरितम् । स्वादुः । साधुः । मायुः । पित्तम् । पायुरपानम् । जायुरौषधम् ॥ [१॥] वसु द्रव्यम् । शयुरजगरः । त्रपुः । पटुः । असवः प्राणाः । बन्धुः । इन्दुः । हनुः । मनुः । न्यङ्कुः । नंगः । कन्दुः । मनिजन्यविनो धद् नात् क्रमेणादिशाश्च । मनेर्मृधुः । जनर्जन्तु । न्यश्चेर्लुगुक्तः । शित् सर्वार्थः । नाकुः । वलिफलेर्गुः । वल्कुः मन्ये ज्ञम् । फल्गुः असारम् । इषादेः क्तः । इषुः शरः । भिदुर्वज्रम् । उरोष्ट्यात् । पुरुः समृद्धः । पृथुः । मृदुः । इग्यण् । विधुः ॥[२॥]

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गृधुः कामः । धृषुः प्रगल्भः । शसिरपः । कुप् स्याद् अप् । शिशुः । रिपुः । ऊरुः । उः अतेः कु स्यात् उरादेशश्च । ऊरू । कृगृ अर्तेः कुः स्यात् । उरन्तश्च । कु कुरुः । गुरुः । उरुः । क्तन्ताः समाहारेतरासुबन्ताश्छन्दोर्थम् । स्यन्दुभ्रस्जस्पशसृजीनाम् । सिन्धुः । भृगुः । पशुः । रज्जुः । आखनिवहेः । आखुः । बहुः । शृकृतिहरिपूर्वो द्रा । शंकि । शुद्रो मित्र पूर्व इण् । सु ॥[३॥]

दुर् अपपूर्वथाः । धनि । स्वृ । मयि । अपपूर्वत्सरि । त्सरिश्च । मितपूर्वो द्रा, दृ वा । एषां शरु इत्यादि निपात्यते । तुत्स्यात् सि आदिः । सेतुः । गन्तुः । मस्तुः । सक्तुः । ओतुः । तन्तुः । क्रोष्टुः । धातुः । भर्तुः । णित् अणिच्च वसेः । वास्तु गृहभूमिः । वस्तुः । एवं जन्तुः । कन्तुः कदर्यः । मन्तुः हेतुः ॥[४॥]

तुनन्ता निपात्यन्ते यात्वाद्याः । यातुः कामुकः । अमुर्याज्ञिकः । जीवेः जीवातुः । ऋकतिपतीनाम् । ऋतुः । केतुः । पीतुः सूर्यः । गातुः । एधतुः पुरुषः । वहतुरनड्वाह् । कारुः । कृञ् । क्रतुरित्यादिरत्र । मदादेर्ण्यः तादि त्नुः स्यात् । मदयित्नुः सीधुः । स्तनयित्नुर्मेघः । पोषयित्नुः कोकिलः । गदयित्नुः वावदूकः । हर्षयित्नुः सुवर्णम् । एणुः स्यात् कृहञः । करेणुर्हस्तिनी । हरेणुर्गन्धद्रव्यम् । नुः स्याद् दाभाभ्याम् । दानुः दाता । भानुरर्कः ॥[५॥]

त्वन्ता निपात्यन्ते । रिवृञः । रेणुः । वर्णुः । सुविषः कित्, वेटानत्वम् । सूनुः । विष्णुः । वेनुः । हाञ् जह्नुः । वीस्थो णत्वं च । वेणुः । स्थाणुः । वेत्तेर्वचे वा गच्च । वग्नुः । वावदूकः । नदिक्षिपोऽनु स्यात् । नदनुः मेघः । क्षिपणुर्वायुः । भुजादेः क्युः स्यात् । किदनरेऽर्थे । भुज्युरोदनः । जन्युः प्राणी । दस्युः । मन्युः ॥[६॥]

आतु कु सु त्यु धु इदं पञ्चकं कित् स्यात् । कुशि-ह्री-इषु-मृङ्-शीः-भ्यः । कृशानुरग्निः । ह्रीकुः लत्वेन, ह्लीकुर्वाऽधृष्टः । रुक्कुः मृत्युः । शीधुः । सर्तेरयुः । सरयुर्नदी । शुभ अशूसूः । पृणात्तः । पर्शुः । पार्श्वास्थिः । परशुः कुठारः । जनादेर्नर्निपात्यते । जत्रुः ग्रीवांशः । रुखनिशदेः । रुरुर्मृगः । खरुर्दूर्व्वः । शत्रुः । मित्रु । मेरुः । श्मपूर्व श्रः । श्मश्रु । शीङ् शिग्रुः, शौभाञ्जनकः । पीङा पेरुः, भास्वरः । यौतेः यवागूः ॥[७॥]

ङूः भ्रमेः, भ्रूः । ऊः स्यात् चमि तन्वदेः, चमूः । कषेः ऊः स्याच्छश्चान्तः । कच्छूः पामा । ऊः स्याद् दरि, द्रूः । इ आ लुक् च, दद्रूः । तृदृगागमश्च, तर्दूः दर्वी । जम्बू आद्यृकारान्तः निपात्यते । जमेजम्बूः । शृधुः । अन्दूः जलतरणम् । लम्बेरलाबूः । एणणोर्नत्वं च । दृम्भेः दृन्भूः । द्वन्द्वैकत्वाद् ह्रस्वः । कसेः कसेरुः, कासूश्च । दिधेः दिधिषूः पुनर्भूः ॥ ८ ॥

प्रह्वः । सर्जूः । कृञ् कर्कन्धूः । खर्जूः । आदिशब्दात् पादूः पादुकेत्यादि । दिवेर्क्रच । देवा । देवरौ । डिद्ऋस्यान्नियः । ना । नरौ । इत्युणादित्वान्नेय् । पित्रादिऋन्ता निपात्यन्ते । पाति । नञ् नन्दि । आपि । भृजि । दुहि ॥[९॥]

जनिपति । सु असि । नञ् पि । एषाम् । एवं नेष्ट्रादि । इःस्याद् धातोः । रु । कु । द्रु । ग्रन्थि । ध्वनि । अवाहञ् । बल प्राणने । सौत्रो वा । एवमादेः । रविः । कविः । दरिः । ग्रन्थिः । ध्वनिः । अविः । हरिः । बलिः । पेषिः । इत्यादिः । किः स्यादिगुपान्ताद् धातोः । कृषिः । शुचिः । रुचिः, इत्यादि । क्रमोऽत्, इच्च । क्रिमिः । मन्यतेर्मुनिः न भाद् ए णित् स्यात् । णित् रंजेल्लुगर्थम् । नाभिः । राजिः । वारिः । वासिः । वापिः । घातिः । सारिः ॥[१०॥]

घसाद्यत्यन्तेभ्यः इण् । घासिरग्निः । राशिः । आजिः । जनिर्माता । पाणिः । आतिः गमनम् । अश्रि आदेः सख्यन्ता निपात्यन्ते । आङ् श्रियः । अश्रिः । वियः विः पक्षी । स एव नेर्नी च । नीतिः । प्र हृञ् । प्रहिः । कृञ् । कारिः

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शिल्पम् । भ्रम् भृमिर्वायुः । सपूर्वस्य ख्यातेः सखिः, इत्यादि । सृण्यन्ताः । अगि अति च्यः अथिन् उरि इथि स्युः । सारथिः । अङ्गुरिः । लत्वेन अङ्गुलिः । अतिथिः । सञ् असेः थिक् । सक्थि । अस्थि । नीदले मिः । नेमिः शकटम् । दल्मि वस्त्रम् । कुषि असेः । कित्सिः । कुक्षि । अक्षि । अर्तेरन्ति च । अरतिः हस्ती ॥[११॥]

रश्मिः । ऊर्मिः । भूमिः । इति म्यन्ताः निपात्यन्ते । रशेः शत्वम् । अर्तेः ऊत्वम् । शद्लृरात्यां त्रि । शत्रिः कुअरः । रात्रिः । भूसूअदिः क्रिन् । भूरिः । [सूरिः । अद्रिः ।] कणमृडः इचिः । कणीचिः लता । मरीचिर्मयूखः । अञ्जिशकेरलिच्उन्तिचौ क्रमेण । अञ्जलिः । शकुन्तिः पक्षी । अन्तिर्भुवः । भवन्ति कालः । धामादेरतिः । [धमनिः]गलशिरा । अशनिः । वर्तनिः तर्कुद्रव्यम् । धरणिः । तरणिः । सरणिः पन्था । ग्रहणिः पङ्क्तिस्थानम् । अवनिः । अरणिः समुद्रः । क्षिपणिः आयुधम् । अनदेङ् । अगेर्निः श्यादेश्य । अग्निः ॥[१२॥]

श्रेणिः । वह्नि । श्रोणिः । योनिः । शकुनिर्निपात्यते । वियो णिः । वेणिः । ण्यन्तो घृण्यादिर्निपात्यते । घृणिः । पाण्णिः । चूर्णिः । सृणिः । विनतः छव्यादेर्निपात्यते । छदेः छविः त्वक् । दिवेः दीदिविः स्वर्गः । दीविश्च श्वापदम् । एवं कृवि, आदि ॥[१३॥]

वृद्रश्च विन् । वर्विः शकटम् । दर्विः तर्दूः । पातेर्डतिः पतिः पाता । दृञ्बसेः क्तिन् । दृतिः चर्ममयी । बस्तिः मूत्राशयः । वहादेरतिः वहतिर्गौः । वसतिर्ग्रामसंनिवेशः । अमति कालः । गम्लृराभ्यां डोडै स्तः । गौ । रै । असुवन्तौ । ग्लौनुदेः डौ । ग्लौश्चन्द्रः । नौः । तन्द्रादि ई । तन्द्री मूर्च्छा । अवीः । तरीः अग्निः (? प्लवः) । स्तरीः मर्मः (? धूमः) । एवं यवीरित्यादि । [यवीः] अश्वः । [पवीः] रविः । अश्वकमलार्थाः । लक्षेर्मुट् च ॥ १४ ॥

कादेः कः । [काकः ।] पाकः बालः । कर्कः वर्णविशेषः । दाको यज्ञः । धाक ओदनः । शल्कः मुद्गः । राका पौर्णमासी । अर्कः रविः । मर्कः वायुः । एकः । भेकः । कान्तं यूकादि निपात्यते । अर्तेः (? ओषतेः) उल्का । सृकम् उत्पलम् । मुष्कः वृषणः । वल्कः त्वक् । इष्टित्याद्यन्येऽपि ॥[१५॥]

धातोः प्कुः । क्षिणः क्षिपकः । योद्धा लिखकः । लघेर्लङ्घकः मालाकारः । धमः सौत्रः । धमकः धर्मकरः । इत्यादि । हाक् जहश्च जहकः । लावकः । कृषेरच् अर् चाचः स्यात् । कर्षकः । कोर्षको वा कुटुम्बी । वृश्चिमूषेः किकन् । वृश्चिकः । मूषिकः । एवम् आपणिको वणिक् । आपतिकः कालः ॥[१६॥]

ईद्यः स्यमः । स्यमेर्य इच्च । सीमिको वृक्षः । भीशीभ्यामानकः । भयानकः । शयानकः अजगरः । कृदादेः तिक् च । इति कित् तिकः स्यात् । कृत्तिका । भित्तिका कुड्यः । लतः सौत्रः । लत्तिका गोधा । शिघेर्णिक् । नञ् । शिघेर्णिकः स्यात् । नशादेशश्च । नासिका । शिघिर्नश्चोण इति वा पावः नाशस्तावः । इषेः क्तकन् । इष्टका । बलशलिपतेराकः । बलाका । [शलाका । पताका ।] शीडः । श्यामाकः । खजाकः । मनाकः । तडाकः । पडेः पिन्निपातनात् ॥[१७॥]

अलीषः कीकन् । अलीकं ललाटम् । इषीका तुलाश्रयः । मृदेः कुश्चागमः । मृद्वीका दाक्षाः । ऋहीका निपात्यते । तत्कणौ तिन्तिडकिङ्कणौ च स्तः । तिन्तिडिका । [किङ्किणिका] घण्टिका । जृचरौ जर्जरचञ्चरौ स्तः । जर्जरीकः । [चञ्चरीकः ।] एवं वाल्मीकादि । क्रादेर्वुन् । करकः । सरकः । नरकः । इत्यादि । मण्डिशलेर्णूकः । मण्डूकः । शालूकम् उत्पलम् ॥[१८॥]

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णूकान्तोलूकादिनिपातनम् । अर्तेः (?वलेः) उलूकः । भल्लूको हिंस्रः । जलूका [जलौका] इत्यादि । शमेः खः शङ्खः । मुहेः ख रूचान्तः । मूर्खः । शिखा निपातनम् । पतेरङ्गः । पतङ्गः । मुदे गाङि । मुद्गः । गृ । गमेर्गः । गर्गः । शृअञ्जिभृञादि गान्तम् । [शृङ्गः । अङ्गः । भृङ्गः ।] जनेर्घः । जङ्घा । कचेःच्छः । कच्छः पार्श्वः । शकादेरटन् । शकटम् । अवटः । कुलटा इत्यादि ॥ १९ ॥

कृतृकृपः कीटः । कृत्रोरिर् । किरीटः । तिरीटं वेष्टनम् । कृपीटम् । एवं जनेर्जटा । लुटेलोष्टः । धातोस्तु ठः । वडेः वण्ठ इत्यादि । कमेरठश्च । कमठः । कण्ठः । वृकृभ्यामण्डः । वरण्डः मुखरोगः । करण्डः । ऊर्णोर्डिः । ऊर्णा । अमन्तादेर्डः । चम् । चण्डः दुर्जनः । अण्डः । दण्डः । रण्डा । षण्डम् । मण्डम् । अमन्तात् सिद्धे कुणाघनरेङ्निपातनार्थम् । कुण्डम् । मुण्डम् । गुण्डम् इत्यादि । जृविशेर्झिन् । झोऽन्तः । जरन्तः महिषः । वेशन्तः वल्लभः । शकेरुन्तः । शकुन्तः [पक्षिः] । शमेर्ढः । शण्ढः ॥ २० ॥

झट् नन्दादेः । टिच्चर्थः । नन्दन्ती सुखी । जीवन्ती ओषधी । रोहन्तो वृक्षः । साधन्तो भिक्षुः । भासन्तः सूर्यः । भवन्तः कालः । णान्तौ गण्डयन्तः मण्डयन्तश्च । ओदन्तः । हेमन्तः । वसन्तः । वहन्तो रथः । जयन्तरतरुविशेषः । अद्भ्योऽत् । अप्सुतुम् । श्यादेरिनः । श्येतः, हरितश्च वर्णाशः । रोहितो मत्स्यभेदः । लत्वेन, लोहितो रक्तः । अतो भृञादेः । भरतः । दर्शतः सोमः । यजतः वह्निः, इत्यादि । रञ्जिपृषेः कतः । रजतं रौप्यम् । पृषतो मृगः ॥ तन् - [॥२१॥]

ग्रादेः । गर्तः । वातः । मर्तः लोकः । लोतः । पोतः बालः । अन्तः । हस्तः । एतो वर्णः । तान्तनिपातनम् । अञ्चेः [अक्तम् ।] घृतम् । द्यूतम् । सितम् । ततेः तातः । सुरमेः । सूरतं मुखसंवासः । फलेः पलितम् । जनेर्जर्तः, इत्यादि । शमादेरथः । [शमथः] समाधिः । वञ्चथः कोकिलः । शपथः । आवसथः, इत्यादि ॥ २२ ॥

वृञ्भ्यामूथः । वरूथः बलसम्पातः । जरूथः अग्रमांसम् । कुषादेः थः । कोष्ठम् । गाथा । उपः ओष्ठः । रमादेः क्थः । रथः । काष्ठम् । पीथमम्भः । तीर्थम् । कुष्ठम् । तुत्थं वह्निः । उक्थं साम । सिक्थं विष्टा । ऋक्थं द्रव्यम् । व्जान्तस्तथादि निपात्यते । समिण् । समिथः अग्निः, इत्याद्यन्येऽपि । अवभृथं यज्ञावसानम् ॥ २३ ॥

उन्देर्यु न्लोपश्च । ओदनः । वीपतिभ्यां तनः । वेतनं भृतिः । पत्तनम् । कम्शपेर्दः । कन्दः । झलो जश् । शब्दः । दान्तं वृन्दादि निपात्यते । वृञ् वृन्दम् । आपेः [अब्दः ।] कमेः (? कौतेः) कुन्दः । श्यायतेः । श्यादः सुवर्णम् । मदेर्मनेर्वा । मन्द इत्यादि । हृञादेरिनः । हरिणः मृगः । अविनः [अध्वर्युः ।] स्तेनः । श्येनः । दक्षिणा । द्रविणम् । वृजेः । वृजिनम् । कुटिनं पापं च । अजेरजिनं चर्म ॥ २४ ॥

ईरीरिणम् उषरम् । वपेर्विपिनं गहनम् । तुहेर्तुहिनम् । महेर्महिनं महत्त्वम् । रशादेर्युः । रशः सौत्रः । रशना । वरणः वृक्षविशेषः । रोचना । रवणो जलकुम्भः । हन्तेर्जघश्च । जघनं कटिः । इतो रजादेः क्युट् । रजनं रङ्गः । रजनी रात्रिः । किरणः । वृजनम् अन्तरिक्षम् । अन्येषामपि, दीर्घः । पूरणः समुद्रः । मन्दनम् । निधनम् । धृषेरित्वम् । धिषणा बुद्धिः । ब्रधादेर्नः । ब्रध्नो रविः । पर्णम् । वस्नो मूल्यम् । तर्णः समुद्रः । कर्णः । वर्णः । धानाः ॥ २५ ॥

एवं सेना । द्रोणः । [स्वप्नः] स्वपनम् । नक् उषादेः । उष्णम् । इनः स्वामी । ऊनो विकलः । धेनः समुद्रः । कृष्णः । पूर्णः । रतः सौत्रः । रत्नः । बुध्नः । उन दार्यादेः । दारुणः । यमुना । अर्जुनः । करुणा । वरुणः । लत्वेन,

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वलुनः । शकुनो निपातनम् । गुरिराभ्यां फकइफौ । लत्वेन, गुल्फः प्रपदम् । रेफः । सर्तेरपः क्पु च । सर्पपः । अपान्तम् उलपादि निपात्यते । सर्तेः (? वलतेः) उलपं जलं (? कोमलतृणम्) । विटपः ॥[२६॥]

विशः विष्टपः स्वर्गः । वशेः विशिपं गृहम् इत्यादि । पूपातलेभ्यः पः । पर्पं गृहम् । पापम् । तल्पं शय्या । ऊ चान्तः स्तौतेः । स्तूपः । युकुसूनां कित् पः । यूपः । कूपः । सूपः । पान्तं बाष्पादि निपात्यते । वसेः वाष्पं लतृणम् । शिलेः शिल्पम् । रौतेः रूपम् इत्यादि ॥ २७ ॥

श्लिषादेः स्रक् निपात्यते । श्लक्ष्णम् अल्पम् । कृणः कृत्स्नम् । रसेः रास्ना ओषधिः । स्यतेः (? सस्तेः) सास्ना ग्रावीस्थायीति जाता [चर्मकम्बली] । स्थूणा । वीणा तीक्ष्णम्, इत्यादि ॥ २८ ॥

गृश्रोवलिघश्चिसिकण् । खटेः कन् । खद्वा । कनन्तं ग्रीवादि निपात्यते । वल्लादेरभः । वल्लभः । रासभः । करभः । गर्दभः । शरभः । लत्वेन शलभः ॥[२९॥]

किचाभः वृषिऋषेः । वृषभः, ऋषभः, श्रेष्ठः । गृहृभ्यां भः । गर्भः । दर्भः । इणः असौ भः, कित् । इभः करी । ऊमः गुधेः । गोधूमः । चरिप्रथेरमः । चरमः । प्रथमः । क्ष्यादेर्मः । क्षेमम् । यामः प्रहरः । यक्ष्मः क्षयो रोगः । नेमम् अधस्तात् । धृ । धर्मः । ऋ । अर्मः अक्षिरोगः । सोमः । होमः । स्तोमः । पद्मम् । क्षोमम् अतसी वासः [वस्त्रम् । भामः क्रोधः] रविश्च । आ चातो ग्रसिग्रसेः ग्रहेः । ग्रसति गृह्णाति वा बुद्ध्यादीनिति ग्रामः । सूचेः स्मक् । सूक्ष्मम् । ह्यादेर्मक् । हिमम् । धूमः । श्याम । युध्मः शरः । इध्मः काष्ठम् । जन्म ॥ ३० ॥

भियो वा षुगागमः । भीष्मः । भीमः । युजिरुजितिजां षष्ठीवृत्तेः कुत्वं चान्तस्य । युग्मम् । रुग्मम् । तिग्मं तीक्ष्णम् । अधगृघृणाम् । अधमः । ग्रीष्मः धर्म, इत्यादि मगन्तम् । किदयस्तनेः । तनयः । हृञो दु किदागमश्च हृदयम् । आय्यः स्पृहेः । स्पृहयाय्यः । ते अपरतोऽपीत्युक्तेः, श्रवाय्यः, इत्यादि । मदेः स्यः । मत्स्यः । भुजिरुजेरिष्यः कित् । भुजिष्यं [भोग्यम् ।] रुजिष्यं दीप्तम् । वृऋभ्यामेण्याण्यनौ । वरेण्यः श्रेष्ठः । अरण्यं वनम् । पुणेः क्यः । पुण्यम् । अन्यान्तं हिरण्यादि निपात्यते । ह्वो हिरण्यम् ॥[३१॥]

पृञ् । पर्जन्यः । धाञ् । धिष्ण्यं गृहम् । शकेः (? शलेः [कः] । शक्यं (? शल्कं) तुषारोपणम्, इत्यादि । मादेर्यः । माया । छाया । सस्यं सारम् । सव्यो वायसः (? वामः) । यान्तं जायादि निपात्यते । जनेर्जाया । कमेः कन्या । स्यदेः (? सन्धेः) सन्ध्या । वधेः वन्ध्या, इत्यादि ॥ ३२ ॥

मदादेरुरः । मन्दुरा । अङ्कुरः । चतुरः । वाशुरा निशा । मथुरा । स्वसेः । सु । स्वरः । [असेः] असुरः । उरः दृदर्द् च । दर्दुरः । मुकिव्यधिः उरः कित् । मुकुरो दर्पणः । विधुरो विगुणः । किदिरः बन्धादेः । बधिरः । [रुधिरम् ।] तिमिरम् । मदिरा । स्थिरः । छिदिरः । अजिरो वायुः । शृस्खदेः । शिशिर । खदिरः, इत्यादि । शकादे रक् । शक्रः । तक्रम् । वक्रम् । चन्द्रः । चक्रम् । मन्द्रः । शुभ्रम् । वृत्रम् ॥[३३॥]

नीरम् । वीरः । छिद्रम् । क्षिप्रम् । दह्रः तरुणः । श्वित्रं सितं कुष्ठम् । तृप्रः पुरोडाशः । मुद्रा । अमादेः दीर्घश्च । आम्रः । दूरम् । जीरो वह्निः । ताम्रम् । रगन्तम् उद्रादि निपात्यते । उन्देः उद्रः पशुजातिः । अभ्रम् । उस्रम् । भद्रम् । उचेः उग्रः । कृतेः कृच्छम् । ददेर्दभः (? दभेर्दभ्रः ।) अचेः (? अगेः) अग्रः । शुचे शुक्रः । जस् एचामाद्यर्थम् । भियो

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भेरी । गुरेः गौरः वर्णः । वप्रः प्रासादपः । धादे रक् । धीरः । सूरः । सुरा । धुरा । षिमिचेः ङिदी चान्तः । सीरं हलम् । मीरो जलधिः । चीरम् । वृधादे रः । वध्रम् । इन्द्रः । वज्रम् ॥ ३४ ॥

स्वादे रक्, टित् कित् त्रः । सूत्रम् । उष्ट्रः । मूत्रम् । वृत्रादेरत्र । वरत्रा । कडत्रं भार्या । लत्वेन कलत्रम् । नक्षमतौ । नक्षत्रम् । अमत्रम् । मदादेः सरः । मत्सरः । अक्षरम् । वत्सरः समाः । संवत्सरः । क्रादेः कित् । कृसरः । धूसरः रुक्षः । तसरं कुविन्दद्रव्यम् । अरो भ्रमादेः । भ्रमरः । वासरो दिनम् । देवरः । बदरम् । आरः कडादेः । कडारः पिशङ्गम् । अङ्गारः । मन्दारः । मणिः भृङ्गारः । कञ्जारो यूपः । मार्जारः । शृङ्गारः । क्रमेशरन्, उच्च । कुमारः ॥[३५॥]

शृतः करः । शर्करा । पुषः कित् । पुष्करम् । क्षीय ईरङ् । क्षीरम् । शौडिकृशृभ्य ईरः । शौडीरं गर्वः । करीरः । लत्वेन करीलः वंशाङ्कुरः । शरीरम् । वशेः कित् । उशीरं वीरणः मूलम् । ईशन्तं गम्लृ (? गाधृ) णेः । गम्भीरम् । गभीरम् । कुम्भीरम्, इत्यादि । ऊरः मसेः, मसूरः । जनेररः, ठान्तश्च । जठरम् । वदेः ठो वा । वठरः । बदरी । पावरत् इच्च, वश्च । विवरः स्थाली ॥ ३६ ॥

चक्कठोरोरः । चकोरः । कठोरः । छडोरः । घुणेः घोरम् । ट्वरः श्रादेः । शर्वरी रात्रिः । कड्वरं दधिविकारः । चर्चरः, चत्वरम् अङ्गनम् । ट्वरान्तं पीवरादि निपात्यते । पीवरं स्थूलम् । चिञ् चीवरं दृतिवरं हीनजातिः । णीञ् नीवरं गृहम् । गह्वरम् छिवरी धूर्तः । छत्वरो निकुजाम्बर इत्यादि । टित् त्रः दाधातः । धात्री । दात्रम् । पात्रम् । पत्रम् । पोत्रम् । तोत्रम् । नेत्रम् । वस्त्रम् । छत्रम् । भस्त्रा, जादौ । शास्त्रम् । शस्त्रम् इत्यादि । कुवः किद्ररः । कुररः ॥ ३७ ॥

प्रत्येकमादियोगात् । प्वादिरादिकृपादिपिञादिशत्रादिभ्यो यथासङ्ख्यं इत्र-उत्र-ऊर-ऊलच्-कलाः स्युः । चिच्छन्दोर्थम् । [इत्र ।] पवित्रम् । वहित्रम् । कटित्रम्, इत्यादि । उत्र । रोत्रम् । लोत्रम् अपहृतधनम् । पोत्रं शूकरमुखनासा, इत्यादि । [ऊर ।] कर्पूरः । वल्लूरः । खर्जूरः, इत्यादि । [ऊल ।] पिञ्जूलः पक्षिजातिः । रगेरन्येषामिति दीर्घः । लाङ्गूलः, इत्यादि । [कल ।] कित् अलः । शबलं चित्रं कमलम् । वृषलः शूद्रः । उदः पाते, उत्पलम् । पटलम् । छः, छलम् । कललम् । केवलम् । शकलं खण्डम् । शमलम् असुरिरित्यादि । सर्ते पिशन् । सपिशम् अग्रमांसम् । चद्मादेस्त्रक् । चित्रम् । अन्त्रम् । मित्रम् । पूञ पु च । पुत्रः । तमेऽलिण् । ताम्बूलः । पतिचण्डेशलञ् । पातालम् । चाण्डालः । कुणिपीभ्यामालक् । कुणालम् । पियालः तरुविशेषः ॥ ३८ ॥

कालकूटः । कुड्मलं मुकुलम् । अलं मगेः । मङ्गलम् । वलञ्वालौ स्तः, शीङः । शैवलम् । शेवालं बालतृणम् । वमादेः शक् । वंशः । कशः । वृशं मूलम् । भृशम् । अलान्ते पल्वलादि निपात्यते । पलेः पल्वलम् । चषिमाङोः । चषालः । माला । शिथिलम् । तमेः तण्डुलः । शगन्ते शकेः कीनाशः कुणपः । दसेः दासः कैवर्तः । अङ्केरुशन् । अङ्कुशः । इलेः इल्वला, इत्यादि ॥[३९॥]

भण्डादेः ऊषः । भाण्डूषः व्याघ्रः । अङ्गूषः पक्षी । पीय्मंचु सौत्रौ । पीयूषं देवोऽमृतं च । मञ्जूषा । ऋ अरुषः चञ्चूः । पृणाते कुषः । पुरुषः । कृतृभ्यामषिः । करीषः । तरीषः समुद्रः । शृअविपृणां शिर्अम्बर्पुर् च । शिरीषः । अम्बरीषं भ्राष्ट्रम् । पुरीषम्, इत्यादि । रुहादेः टिदिषः । रोहिषो मृगः । अव्यथिषः सूर्यः । अविषः समुद्रः । किले किल्बिषं पापम् । टीषान्तं निपात्यते । गमेर्गवादेशश्च । गविषः समुद्रः । तरीषी नदी, इत्यादि । सः मन्यादेः । मांसम् । कक्षम् ॥ ४० ॥

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वर्षम् । तर्षः समुद्रः । कंसः । हंसः । वत्सः । ऋषादेः सक् । ऋक्षम् । वृक्षः । स्रुषा वधूः । चमादेरसः । चमसः [सोमपान भाण्डम् । अवसः] सूर्यः । यवसः गोभक्तम् । पनसः । रभसः । अदस व्रीहिः । तुडागमश्च । [अतसः ।] वेतसः । [पतसः] वह्निः । कृञो पासः । कार्पासः । सिचेः कः, दुगागमो हश्चान्तः । सिंहः । श्यादेः किप्, दीर्घश्चान्तः । श्रीः सुवर्णम् । स्रूः । जूः पिशाचः । [कट-]प्रूः कामचारः । वचिप्रच्छेश्च । स एव । वचोऽथ न यणिक् । वाक् । प्राट् शिष्टः । गमेर्द्वे च । जगत् ॥ ४१ ॥

परिव्राट् निपात्यते । किपि । वशिवणेः किजिः । वशिक् तन्तुवायः । वणिक् । उरुच्चारणार्थः । स्रु गतौ, अतश्चित् । स्रुच् । मृङ उतिः । मरुत् । गृत उति, मुद् वा न च वेत्यर्थः । गर्मुत् हेम । गरुत् । तदस्यास्ति, गरुत्मान् । स्रादेरितिः । सरित् । तडित् । रोहित् । योपित्, युषः सौत्रः । हरित् । शृतोऽदिः । शरत् । द्रुतः षुगागमश्च, ऋकृच्च । दृषद् । त्यजादेः । त्यद् । तद् । मगागमश्च युषश्चासरदिश्च । युष्मद् । अस्मद् । कनिः वृषादेः । वृषन् गौः । राजन् । धन्वन् मरु-[प्रदेशः] । तक्षन् । प्रतिदिवन् दिवसः । द्युवन् । मन् धातोः । भासः भस्मन् । जनेर्जन्मन् । वृतेः वर्त्मन्, इत्यादि । पृषादेः शतृ । पृषत् मृगः । बृहत् वसुनम् । महत् । मातरिपूर्वस्य श्वयतेः कनिनन्तो मातरिश्वन् निपात्यते । षट्पदी गाथा ॥ ४२ ॥

व्ययतेः व्योमन्, इत्यादि मनन्तकनन्तं निपात्यते । आदिशब्दात् - ॥४३ ॥

मघवन् इत्यादि । इमन् धातोः । भृ । भस्मिन् इत्यादि । इमिर्गमादेः । गमिन् । पथिन् । मन्थिन् । ऋभुक्षिन् । आगमिभूभ्यां णित् । आगामिन् । भाविन् । परमे स्थः कित् । परमेष्ठिन् । छृदादेरिसिः । छर्दिष् । अर्चिष् । 'इस्मन्त्रन्क्विपु[च]' (पा.अ. ६/४/९७) [इति न] दीर्घः [छृदा-]दिषु । सर्पिष् । शोचिष् । हविष् । रोचिष् । एवं जातादेः । ज्योतिष् इत्यादि । उसिः प्रादेः । परुष् । वपुष् । त्रपुष् ॥ ४४ ॥

जतुष् पित् । धनुष् । यजूष् । अरुष् । यथासङ्ख्यं इणो णित् चक्षः शित् उसिः । आयुष् । चक्षुष् । वसेः कनस् । उशनस् । इण्विधेरसि । ऊधस् । वेधस् । चन्द्रान्मो डित् । चन्द्रमस् । पयस्पुरसोर्धाश्च । पयोधस् मेघः । पुरोधस् पुरोहितः । अगिवसेर्नित् । आगस् । वासस् । दुषोरसन्तस्य दोष् भुजः । यजेः शान्तश्च । यशस् । जश्चान्त उषे । ओजस् । अमे भुगागमश्च । अम्भस् । इणुश्योर्नुपुडागमौ च । एनस् । शेपस् । स्रुरीभ्यां तुट् च । स्रोतस् । [रेतस् ।] छदेर्नुम् च । छन्दस् । ऋरिति अर्ति, उर्च । उरस् । शुट् चार्थे । व्याधावर्थे । अर्शस् । नुट् चोदकेऽर्थे । अर्णस् जलम् । षट्पदी गाथा ॥ ४५ ॥ **उणाद्याः समाप्ताः ॥**

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INDIAN CONCEPT OF DHARMA

L. M. JOSHI*

The topic has its great relevance in the present age. Yet the topic seems to be very tricky on one hand and attractive on the other hand. As we know it is very difficult to define and conceptualize the word *Dharma* and because *Dharma* has an impact of national as well as universal character, we must know what the word *Dharma* means. After a detailed study, we come to know that it is *Dharma* that sustains and maintains Social, Moral, Political and Economical order.

In present time, we find crisis of humanity all over the world. Now the time has come to justify and understand what humanity is ! What is meant by *Dharma* ? What is human goal ? Our Indian philosophy has enriched itself with many philosophical thoughts and different systems. But mainly there are nine, which can be accepted as prominent thoughts. They are *Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Pūrvamīmāṁsā, Uttaramīmāṁsā, Bauddha-darśana, Jaina-darśana* and Philosophy of *Lokāyatas* i.e. *Cārvākas*. Out of these first six are called *Āstika darśanas*. They are so called, because they have accepted *Veda* as the highest authority (*pramāna,* the original source of their theory). The rest *darśanas* are *nāstikadarśanas*. All these *darśanas* are our philosophical heritage.

Dharma is one of the Key-concepts in Indian thoughts. The word *Dharma* has been variously defined. We can say *Dharma* has its legal, moral and social shades of meaning; which are developed during the course of tradition and historical development. Though *Dharma* is at the centre of ancient Indian thoughts; it is much misunderstood or has been misused to forestall social changes.

Dharma is the characteristic feature of man and it has to be developed to achieve mature - manhood. There is a well-known saying which means : "Food, sleep, fear and sex are common to both; animals and human beings. But what distinguishes man from animals is *Dharma.*[1] Thus man without *Dharma* would be just like a lower animal. *Dharma* plays very important role in distinguishing human beings from animals."

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1. आहारनिद्राभयमैथुनं च समानमेतत्पशुभिर्नराणाम् ।
धर्मो हि तेषामधिको विशेषो धर्मेण हीनाः पशुभिः समानाः ॥

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Now what is meant by *Dharma* ? The reply can be : Doing one's own duty is *Dharma*, to be virtuous is *Dharma* and at the same time *Dharma* is that which leads to advancement and growth. It is that which upholds all creatures. It is said "*Dhāraṇādharmamityāhuḥ dharmo dhārayate prajāḥ,*[2] because it upholds, it is called *Dharma*. It is also said that *Dharma* protects man from doing evil if it is well observed. The war of *Mahābhārata* was fought for the establishment of *Dharma* and for the destruction of *Adharma*. Here the *Dharma* combines both the Right and Good. As the *Pāṇḍavas* follow Dharma, they become victorious and as the *Kauravas* embrace *Adharma*, they are destroyed. On the cosmic plane, the *Mahābhārata* war is a war between the *Devas* and *Asuras*. And on the metaphysical plane, it is a war between the lower self and the higher self. The lower self consists of passions, desires, ignorance etc. Dhrutarāṣṭra and his sons Duryodhana, Duḥśāsana etc. are full of passions and desires. Duryodhana is evil. The higher self comprises of purity, balance, knowledge and devotion - Doing one's duty in accordance with one's place and station in life without attachment, to have the knowledge of the eternal and the non-eternal and also to possess great faith in God. And this would lead one to success, prosperity and liberation and will unite one with the higher self.

"*Satyameva jayate*" (*Muṇḍaka upaniṣad* 3.1.6) means truth is always victorious. So truth is *Dharma*, What is right is *Dharma*. It is rightly said that there is no Dharma, higher than the truth.

The Indian concept of *Dharma* stands for comprehensive consideration of duties, righteousness, devotion, invocation, social welfare & welfare of the world. It is called "*lokasaṅgraha*". *Dharma* also stands for aspiration for unity with Ultimate Reality in thought, word and deed. *Dharma* attempts to cover-up the total personality of human being and society at large.

Dharma in its comprehension embraces ethical as well as religious pursuits, intrinsic as well as instrumental values. It has an impact on national character. It has also remained vitalizing element in Indian civilization.

Dharma according to our *Dharmaśāstras*, is a social order. It is a mode of life or code of conduct for developing the man to reach his goal of existence, as says Yājñavalkya[3].

According to Jainism *Dharma* is nothing but harmony or equality. It is observed by not harming any being.

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2. धारणाद्धर्म इत्याहुर्धर्मेण विधृताः प्रजाः ।
यत्स्याद्धारणसंयुक्तं स धर्म इति निश्चयः ॥ महाभारत । २-११०-११

3. इज्याचारदमाहिंसादानस्वाध्यायकर्मणाम् ।
अयं तु परमो धर्मो यद् योगेनाऽत्मदर्शनम् ॥ याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतिः आचाराध्यायः १-८

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According to Buddhism, non-enmity only can end enmity. This is eternal *Dharma*. That which leads to peace, humanity, and limitation of desires, striving for moral-spiritual progress is *Dharma*. It consists of charity, morality, tolerance and truth.

Veda describes *Dharma* as restraints, charity, compassion, and life as sacrifice. *Veda* describes enjoyment with relinquishment. Performing sacrifices is also *Dharma*.

We promote harmony and balance:

In eco-system through *'Yajña'* (cultivating nature)

In socio-system through *'Dāna'* (sharing)

In psycho-system through *'tapas'* (penance)

Now what is sacrifice :

In the early stages of human civilization, '*Yajña*' meant to kindle the fire with Vedic hymns. It has social significance. Afterwards, it also developed ritualistic and spiritualistic connotation. *Dharma* is meant for stability and maintenance of every thing.[4] From the point of view of Modern Ecology this seems to be very important. In performing sacrifices etc. Dharma can contribute to maintain Ecological balance.

To social philosophers like Gandhiji and Vinobaji, '*Yajña*' meant an act directed towards welfare of all.

We are bound by three orders. Physical, Social, Universal. Now due to these three, what is lost is self-identity. That we acquire as *Gīta* says through *'Tapas'*, *Dāna*, and *'Yajña'*. Thus '*Yajña*' includes service to all creatures and God. In *'Yajña'*, one gives away spiritually and receives back as grace for community sharing. Entire *Veda* is the source of *Dharma*[5] and also the conduct or behaviour of the knower of the *Veda*. The *ācāra* of good person or self-satisfaction is also source of *Dharma*. Here this concept is very simple, even a layman can understand and follow what *Dharma* is and hence it is said.

श्रुतिर्विभिन्ना स्मृतयश्च भिन्ना नैको मुनिर्यस्य वचः प्रमाणम् ।
धर्मस्य तत्त्वं निहितं गुहायां महाजनो येन गतः स पन्थाः ।

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4. धर्मो विश्वस्य जगतः प्रतिष्ठा ।
धर्मे सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितम् । तैतिरीय आरण्यक 10.79

5. वेदोऽखिलो धर्ममूलं स्मृतिशीले च तद्विदाम् ।
आचारश्चैव साधूनामात्मनस्तुष्टिरेव च ॥ मनुस्मृतिः २-६

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So according to Manu the definition of *Dharma* is fourfold.[6]

1. Manu includes Self-knowledge under *Dharma*.
2. While Yājñavalkya states that to gain knowledge by *yoga* is the highest *Dharma*.
3. Kullūka Bhaṭṭa, the commentator of the *Manusmṛti* clarifies further this point by saying that self knowledge is the form of *Dharma*. Thus liberation is the result of *Dharma*.
4. The other aspects of *Dharma* can be seen in four human goals - *Dharma, Artha,* and *Kāma* which constitute the class of triad of secular values. Here *Dharma* is the foundation of *Artha* and *Kāma* as said by Manu[7].

The same thing is explained in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad,* one of the 10 major *Upaniṣads*. There it is said that at the backdrop of all *Karma* activities, there is always the purpose of Self-love or the desire of Self-realization. In this way, *Dharma* is the central value from which *Artha, Kāma* and *Mokṣa* come out.

The same thing can be explained in detail. According to our Indian tradition the whole of human life is divided into 4 stages of "Āśramas" viz. *Brahmacaryāśrama, Gṛhasthāśrama, Vānaprasthāśrama, & Sanyāsāśrama.* The first stage of *"Āśrama"* is meant for the exclusive culture of "*Dharma*" by observing certain rules and regulations. Here certain duties are to be carried out.

The second stage *"Gṛhasthāśrama"* is for the cultivation of *Artha* and *Kāma*, as they are compatible with *Dharma*. The third stage of *Vānaprasthāśrama* is again for the cultivation of *Dharma* i.e. relinquinshing all desires and objects etc. which can lead to the highest *Dharma* i.e. *Mokṣa*. Here in this tradition, *Dharma* plays the central role and determines all laws, rights, duties, and obligations.

Thus we know that word religion cannot be rightly used to yield the precise meaning of the word *Dharma* in Sanskrit. The two words are not synonyms. *Dharma* cannot only mean religious fundamentals, though it includes it but it is not the real *Dharma*.

In a simple way we can state that *Dharma* is *Dharma,* because it upholds or sustains man. The word *Dharma* is originated from Sanskrit root √*Dhṛ-Dhārayati*. That which upholds or sustains. This is threefold:

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6. वेदः स्मृतिः सदाचारः स्वस्य च प्रियमात्मनः ।
एतच्चतुर्विधं प्राहुः साक्षाद्धर्मस्य लक्षणम् ॥ मनुस्मृतिः २-१२

7. धर्मार्थावुच्यते श्रेयः कामार्थौ धर्म एव च ।
अर्थ एवेह वा श्रेयस्त्रिवर्ग इति तु स्थितिः ॥ मनुस्मृतिः २.२२४

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1. *Dharma* sustains and upholds man as a human being in a decent, normal and progressive way of life.
2. It keeps man steady, firm and sustained on the progressive path of sublimation towards the divine.
3. It keeps man steady and firm as a human being and thus saves him from degenerating into a state of animalism.

Manu, who was our foremost social thinker and social Philosopher, nicely explains all these concepts of *Dharma*. In his text we see reflection of Socialism. We have never understood Manu and we blame Manu. We call him orthodox. Manu says *'Na strīsvātantryamarhati'* (9.3), the same Manu has said where ladies are given respect, gods rejoice there.[8]

To Manu, Man is the centre of the society as an individual. And it is accepted that better the individual, better the society. In a way, man and his society form an identity. Man is living and he gives life, energy, health, vigour and progress to the society. Manu therefore prefers to talk more about man as an individual in his vigour, duty, ethics, morality, heroic spirits etc. He analyses in detail man's duty and his obligation to the society. The Dharma is also defined as that by observing which there can be personal and social welfare and also spiritual upliftment.[9]

In this way much of the social philosophy laid by Manu can be applied with advantage to life in India as also to life of man in the world over even today. I think his concept of *Dharma* can contribute very much today & can provide practical ideology to solve many problems of duties or obligaitons, rights and human freedom.

When we look *Dharma* as the fundamental principle of cosmic order, it would mean getting free from egoism and getting true knowledge of Self. We come to know that turth is one but variously cognized. This is how it leads to different religious sects, which are imperfect. If it proceeds towards exclusivism, it would result into disorder or *Adharma*. That is why it is better to accept *Dharma* as duties and not rights. *Dharma* consists in giving every creature its dues. Duties and virtues extend beyond the field of human beings to animals, birds, and plant-life and also to the inanimate existence.

The *Bhagavadgītā* lays down *Dharma* and three ways to attain it. These three ways are the way of knowledge (*Jñāna*), the way of action (*Karma*) and the way of devotion

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8. यत्र नार्यस्तु पूज्यन्ते रमन्ते तत्र देवताः । मनुस्मृतिः ३.५६
9. यतोऽभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससिद्धिः स धर्मः ।

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(*Bhakti*). In brief, we can say that *Dharma* according to the *Gītā* means one's own duty, right and unity with Highest Self.

Lord Kṛṣṇa has also said "Abandoning all *dharmas*"[10]. Here it means you abandon all other ways leading to *Dharma* and accept the way of one-minded devotion. Hence at last Arjuna says that - all my doubts are vanished. I shall follow thy opinion.

To conclude, when we say *Dharma,* we have to accept all these aspects. Thus *Dharma* will break all barriers and would be the universal and hence in *Mahābhārata,* it is said- *Dharma* helps one to attain the remaining goals of human being. So why one should not follow the *Dharma.*[11]

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10. सर्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं व्रज । गीता १८.६६

11. ऊर्ध्वबाहुर्विरौम्येष न च कश्चिच्छृणोति माम् ।
धर्मादर्थश्च कामश्च स धर्मः किं न सेव्यताम् ।। महाभारत 18.5.49

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CONCEPT OF ORDEALS IN THE NĀRADASMṚTI

SUNANDA Y. SHASTRI*

The *Nāradasmṛti* is a *Smṛti*-text of 3rd century A.D., totally devoted to the *Vyavahāra* or law. Usually *Smṛtis* have three parts, viz., *Ācāra*- code of conduct; *Vyavahāra* - laws and *Prāyaścitta* - rules of atonement for the faults and sins knowingly or unknowingly committed. Since the *Nāradasmṛti* deals only with law, treatment of the topics of law is in full therein. One thousand and twenty eight verses are devoted for six criminal titles, 12 civil titles, judicial procedure and evidence. The *Nāradasmṛti* discusses witnesses, documents, circumstantial evidence and ordeals in the part of evidence. Thus, ordeals form important part of evidence. Nārada states the minute details of administration of these ordeals and also analyses their validity in the context of law.

Smṛtis consider ordeals as divine mode of proof. Human proofs are documents and witnesses. Where human proof is not available and justice is in jeopardy - then ordeals - *Divya* - the divine mode of proof is resorted to. Dr. Julius Jolly puts it, "the divine judgement is based on the belief in the direct intervention of the deity in order to expose the guilt or to vindicate innocence and to expiate for the violation of law which has occurred."[1]

Nārada has prescribed seven types of ordeals. His predecessors Manu and Yājñavalkya prescribe only five. A detailed description regarding the general rules of ordeals and seven ordeals form a major part of the first title of law (i.e. debt and evidence). One hundred and one verses are devoted for the rules of ordeals. This is far more exhaustive treatment given to ordeals in comparison with Manu and Yājñavalkya. In addition to these verses, Dr. Julius Jolly has listed eighty verses attributed to Nārada (regarding ordeals) from different authentic sources like the *Viramitrodaya,* the *Mitākṣarā,* the Nepalese version of the *Nāradasmṛti* and many others. These verses are not found in the extant *Nāradasmṛti.*

Seven Ordeals - The *Nāradasmṛti* prescribes seven ordeals, viz., (1) ordeal by balance - *Tulādivya,* (2) by fire - *Agnidivya;* (3) by water - *Udakadivya;* (4) by poison - *Viṣadivya;* (5) by consectated water or sacred libation - *Kośadivya.* (6) rice ordeal - *Taṇḍuladivya* and (7) Ordeal of hot piece of gold - *Taptamāṣakalakṣaṇa.*

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1. Jolly, J. : *Hindu Law and Custom,* Bharatiya Publishing House, Varanasi, p. 310, 1975.

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Ordeal by balance

Nārada first explains the method of erecting the balance (*Tulā*) giving accurate measurements and kinds of wood to be used.[2] Then he suggests proper places to erect balance, viz., in the midst of public assembly or before the gates of royal palace or in the sight of temple or in a cross road.[3] Asahāya comments that, these places are the abode of *Dharmarāja* (King of Justice).[4] Kātyāyana advises that the ordeal of balance should be administered to felons in the sight of temple; for the offenders against the king, it should be in front of royal gates, and for other offenders it should be in public assembly or the court of justice.[5]

Gods and Goddesses are invoked in the presence of judge and other people before administering this ordeal, i.e. with many witnesses present.[6]

रक्षार्थमाहूतैर्लोके लोकपालैरधिष्ठितः ।
सर्वदा तु प्रदेयः स्यात् सर्वलोकस्य पश्यतः ॥

It is administered in the forenoon.[7] The defendant is seated in one scale and stones in another scale.

शिक्यद्वयं समासज्य धटकर्कटयोर्दृढम् ।
एकत्र शिक्ये पुरुषमन्यत्र तुलयेच्छिलाम् ॥[8]

Weight of defendant is ascertained in first weighing very minutely and corresponding mark is made on the wooden beam of balance to mark exact position of the scales.

प्रथमारोपणे ग्राह्यं प्रमाणं निपुणैः सह ।
तुलाशिलाभ्यां तुल्यं च तोरणं न्यस्तलक्षणम् ॥[9]

Then defendant is weighed second time. A paper, on which the charges against the defendant are written is fastened to defendant's forehead before weighing for second time.

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2. *Nāradasmṛti* - I.260, 262, 263 and 264.
3. Nr. I. 265.
4. एते प्रदेशा धर्मदेवतावतारयोग्या भवन्तीति ।
   - Asahāya on Nr. I - 265.
5. Kātyāyana quoted by Julius Jolly, P. 104.
6. Nr. I - 267.
7. पूर्वाह्णे सर्वदिव्यानां प्रदानमनुकीर्तितम् ॥ Nr. I - 268.
8. Nr. I - 271.
9. Nr. I - 273.

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समयैः परिगृह्याथ पुनरारोपयेन्नरम् ।
निर्वाते वृष्टिरहिते शिरस्यारोप्य पत्रकम् ॥[10]

Then, a *Brāhmaṇa* recites prayer addressed to the balance and invokes deities.[11] While weighing second time, if defendant's scale rises due to lightness than other scale, then he is declared innocent and acquitted. If the scale is same or heavy then he is declared guilty and cannot be acquitted.

तुलितो यदि वर्धेत स शुद्धः स्यान्न संशयः ।
समो वा हीयमानो वा अविशुद्धो भवेन्नरः ॥[12]

In case the beam of balance or scale breaks, then it is taken as token of innocence of the defendant.

कक्षाच्छेदे तुलाभङ्गे धटकर्कटयोस्तथा ।
रज्जुच्छेदेऽक्षभङ्गे च मूर्तितः शुद्धिमादिशेत् ॥[13]

Ordeal by Fire :

This is one of the difficult ordeals. The defendant has to walk certain distance holding a red hot iron ball in his hand. Eight circles are drawn on the ground. Diameter of each circle is approximately the length of one's foot.

मण्डलस्य प्रमाणं तु कुर्यात्तत्पदसम्मितम् ।[14] Distance between two circles is thirty-two *aṅgulas* or about twenty inches. Defendant's hands are checked for any earlier burn marks and recorded. So that, previous marks are not confused with the burn marks after undergoing ordeal.

हस्तक्षतेषु सर्वेषु कुर्यात् काकपदानि च ।
तान्येव पुनरवेक्षेत् हस्तौ बिन्दुविचित्रितौ ॥[15]

Iron ball is made red hot. Then a prayer is addressed to the red hot ball weighing fifty *palas*. Same prayer is written on a piece of paper and fastened to defendant's head.[16]

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10. Nr. I - 276.
11. Nr. I - 277; 278-281.
12. Nr. I - 283; Quotations from Nārada VI - 32-33.
13. Nr. I - 284.
14. Nr. I - 299.
15. Nr. I - 301.
16. Nr. I - 290 - 294.

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Defendant takes bath before ordeal and is in wet clothes.[17] Priest places seven holy fig leaves on defendant's hands and ties with seven threads.

सप्ताश्वत्थस्य पत्राणि अभियुक्तस्य हस्तयोः ।
कृत्वा न्यसेत्तु पत्राणि सप्तभिः सूत्रतन्तुभिः ॥[18]

Defendant stands on the first circle. The red hot fireball is placed on his hands. He has to walk slowly across the eight circles.

स्नातश्च मण्डलस्थश्च ततः संगृह्य पावकम् ।
स्थित्वैकस्मिन् ततोऽन्यानि व्रजेत्सप्त शनैः शनैः ॥[19]

On reaching eighth circle, he can drop the ball.

अष्टमं मण्डलं गत्वा ततोऽग्निं विसृजेन्नरः ।[20]

If defendant's hands are burnt, then he is declared guilty. If burnmarks are not found on hands, then he is given rice grains and asked to crush them vigorously seven times in hands. Even then, if his hands are found unhurt, then he is declared innocent and acquitted.

Ordeal by water :

This ordeal is not allowed in Hemanta and Śiśira seasons, i.e. cold seasons.

हैमन्तकालादन्यत्र शिशिराच्च यथाक्रमम् ।[21] This ordeal can be performed in streams, tanks, ocean, rivers, lakes and ponds.[22] With preliminary prayers and invocations and in the presence of judges and witnesses, defendant is asked to stand in waist-deep water. A strong man also stands near defendant.

नाभिमात्रे जले स्थाप्यः पुरुषः स्तम्भवद्बली ।[23] Then three arrows are shot from the place where judges stand. The distance of arrows shot approximately is 225 metres 270 mts and 315 mts. respectively.[24] Two or three very swift runners are appointed to bring back the middle most arrow. As soon as the arrows are shot, defendant standing in the water holds thighs of his escort firmly and dives under the water.[25]

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17. Nr. I - 296.
18. Nr. I - 287.
19. Nr. I - 296.
20. Nr. I - 297.
21. Nr. I - 304.
22. Nr. I - 305.
23. Nr. I - 308.
24. Shastri, Sunanda Y. : *Nāradasmṛti* - A Study, a Ph.D. Thesis (Guj. Uni.), 1990, P. 203.
25. Nr. I - 308.

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तरू संप्रगृह्याथ निमज्जेदभिशस्तवान् । He has to hold his breath until the middlemost arrow is brought back. When the arrow is brought back, then equally swift runner is sent where defendant is standing with the arrow. The runner should not see any part of defendant's body above the water. If defendant is able to hold his breath under the water till then, then he is declared innocent. If not then he is declared guilty.[26] Women, children, sick persons, Super annuated, feeble men, cowards, persons tormented by pain and persons afflicted by calamity-these all are exempted from this ordeal. Since they cannot hold the breath that long and may die in doing so.

न मज्जनीयं स्त्रीबालं धर्मशास्त्रविशारदैः ।
रोगिणश्चापि वृद्धाश्च पुमांसो ये च दुर्बलाः ॥
निरुत्साहान्रुजाक्लिष्टानार्तांश्च न निमज्जयेत् ।
सद्यो म्रियन्ते मज्जन्तः स्वल्पप्राणा हि ते स्मृताः ॥[27]

The *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* deals with this ordeal very briefly - i.e. with only two verses.

Ordeal by Poison -

This ordeal can be administered only in cool season, because cool weather helps to lessen the agony caused by poison.[28] Nārada then gives kind of poison to be administered and those which should be avoided, viz., *Śārṅga, Himaja* poison is recommended.[29] Spoiled poison, shaken poison, scented poison and mixed poison should be avoided, because it has been changed from its natural state into something different. Very strong poisons like *Kālakūta, Alābu* etc. should be avoided.

भग्नं च चारितं चैव धूपितं मिश्रितं तथा ।
कालकूटमलाबुं च विषं यत्नेन वर्जयेत् ॥[30]

Poison measuring approximately six *yavas* is adviced to be administered.

वर्षासु षड्यवा मात्रा ग्रीष्मे पञ्चयवाः स्मृताः ।
हेमन्ते सप्त वाष्टौ वा शरद्यस्यापि नेष्यते ॥[31]

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26. Nr. I - 311 - 312.
27. Nr. I - 313 - 314.
28. Nr. I - 320; Quo. from Nārada. VI - 72.
29. Nr. I - 322; Quo. from Nr. VI - 71.
30. Nr. I - 321. "कालकूटालाबुविषे च अतिरौद्रजातिवशाद्वर्जिते" - Asahāya on Nr.I-321
31. Nr. I - 324.

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Poison is mixed with clarified butter (ghee), more in quantity than poison.[32] शोध्ये दद्यात् घृतप्लुतम् । It is administered in morning with customary prayer and in the presence of judges and witnesses. After administering the poison, defendant is kept in the cool place for remaining part of the day, without any food छायानिवेशितो रक्ष्यो दिनशेषमभोजनः ।[33] If he remains free from convulsions, such as are generally caused by the poison, he is declared innocent. विषवेगक्लमातीतः शुद्धोऽसौ मनुरब्रवीत् ।[34] Then antidote of the poison is given.[35] Nārada quoted in the *Mitākṣara*[36] says, "If the person undergoes no change of appearance during the time occupied by clapping the hands five hundred times, he is acquitted and should be cured by giving him antidotes of the poison."

Ordeal by Sacred Libation :

This ordeal can be administered in any season since this is not to be administered outdoor.

In the ritual of this ordeal, the judge calls the accused one and asks him to stand in a circle made of cowdung.[37] Defendant should stand facing the Sun, i.e. Eastward. The deity to which defendant is devoted is worshipped and is conceerated with water. Defendant is asked to swallow three mouth fulls of that water.[38] Purpose is, after drinking the holy water he is not supposed to speak untruth , or else deily would bring calamity on him.

After performing this ordeal, if the defendant meets any calamity within a week or a fortnight, it is regarded as the proof of his guilt.

सप्ताहाभ्यन्तरे यस्य द्विसप्ताहेन वाऽशुभम् ।
प्रत्यात्मकं तु दृश्येत सैव तस्य विभावना ॥[39]

Yājñavalkya has devoted two verses for this ordeal. He suggests period of fourteen days for the test of sacred libation.

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32. Nr. I - 323.
33. Nr. I - 326.
34. Nr. I - 326.
35. Quo. from Nr. VI - 74. (Jolly, J. : *Minor Law Books*, Nārada, P. 261.)
36. Macnaghten's translation of the *Mitākṣarā* on Administration of Justice. - X-5, 16.
37. Quo. from Nr. VI-81; Foot note P. 262. J. Jolly : *Minor Law Books*, Nārada-Bṛhaspati.
38. Quo. from Nr.- VI - 82, *Vīramitrodaya*.
39. Nr. I - 330.

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Ordeal by rice :

This ordeal and the next one, i.e. ordeal of the hot piece of gold - are exclusively found in the extant *Nāradasmṛti*. These are not found in Manu's code or in that of Yājñavalkya. Most other Smṛtikāras talk only of previous five ordeals. These two ordeals are supposed to be a special contribution of Nārada to the law of evidence.

Rice ordeal is adviced to be administered only in the cases of larceny.

Judge places grains of rice with husk in an earthen pot before deity of the Sun. Then he mixes those grains with the water by which the image of deity is consecrated. He leaves those grains in the water for whole night. Judge gives these rice grains to the defendant at the day break, to chew.

''स्नानोदकेन संपृक्तान् रात्रौ तत्रैव वासयेत् ।''
''स्नाताय सोपवासाय दद्याद्देवार्चकः स्वयम् ।''[40]

The judge shall proclaim the charge when the defendant has chewed the grains. Then judge shall ask him to spit those grains on the leaf of holy fig tree. If blood is seen on the chewed grains or his gums are seen hurt, or his limbs are shaking then he is pronounced guilty.

दृश्यते शोणितं यस्य दन्तजालं च सीदति ।
गात्रं च कम्पते यस्य तमशुद्धं विनिर्दिशेत् ॥[41]

This ordeal is rather similar to the ordeal by sacred libation. The sacred libation ordeal comprises of drinking of consecrated water and the result is awaited for the stipulated period, where as in rice ordeal grains are soaked in the consecrated water overnight and for the result, there is no waiting. It is obtained immediately.

Ordeal of the hot piece of gold :

In this ordeal, the judge takes bath before administering the ordeal. Then he pours clarified butter (ghee) in a silver, golden, iron or earthen vessel and puts the pot on the fire.

सौवर्णे राजते पात्रे आयसे मृण्मयेऽपि वा ।
क्षिप्रं घृतमुपादाय तदग्नौ स्थापयेत् शुचिः ॥[42]

As the pot heats, the judge throws, a shining coin of gold, silver, copper or iron in

40. Nr. I 339 & 340.
41. Nr. I - 342.
42. Nr. I - 344.

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the pot. The coin is washed throughly before putting it into the pot.[43] It is dangerous to touch the coin immersed in the bioling ghee. Judge makes a prayer addressed to the clarified butter.[44] After the prayer, judge asks defendant to touch coin in the hot ghee. If forefinger of the defendant is unhurt then he is declared innocent, or else guilty.

प्रदेशिन्यक्षता यस्य संस्पृष्टायां परीक्षणे ।
यदि विस्फोटका न स्युः शुद्धोऽसावन्यथा न हि ॥[45]

Pre-requisites of the ordeals -

1. Nārada puts it very clearly that ordeals are applicable for those offences, transactions and deals made at night, in the forest, inside a house, in the case of violence and in the case of denial of deposit, i.e. where witnesses and documentary evidence is lacking.

यदा साक्षी न विद्येत विवादे वदतां नृणाम् ।
तदा दिव्यैः परीक्षेत शपथैश्च पृथग्विधैः ॥[46]

Ordeals cannot be ordained unless the claimant is ready to take on penalty ordained for the losing party. Because if defender is proved innocent after undergoing ordeal, then claimant has to forfeit the fine.[47] Ordeals are not to be administered, when nobody declares himself ready to take on the penalty. Which clearly means, when one volunteers for an ordeal then only it is administered, not forcibly, Yājñavalkya suggests the ordeals only in the cases of high treason and the sins like Brāhmicide even if no one is ready to admit the offence.[48] Nārada also has the same opinion. Except in the cases of high treason, ordeal is not to be administered forcibly.

The king has right to inflict ordeals on his servants अशिरांस्यपि दिव्यानि राजा भृत्येषु दापयेत् ।[49] In the case where the suspect is found interacting with robbers and such characters, then also ordeal can be made compulsory and defendant's permission is not necessary.[50]

2. Another pre-requite of the ordeal is proper season.

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43. Nr. I - 345.
44. Nr. I - 346-347.
45. Nr. I - 348.
46. Nr. I 247 & Nr. Matr. II-29.
47. Quo from Nr. VI - 2, P. 247. *The Minor Law Books,* Part I.
48. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* - II-96.
49. Nr. I - 270.
50. Quo. from Nr. VI-3, P. 247, *Minor Law Books,* I.

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Ordeal by fire is adviced to be performed during the rainy season.[51] Since, it is not so cold that the fireball would loose its heat quickly or nor very hot, so that it would enhance the heat and cause discomfort for defendant.

अनेन विधिना कार्यो हुताशः समयः सदा ।
ऋते ग्रीष्मात्सदा युक्तः कालेऽन्यत्र सुशीतले ॥[52]

Autumn is proper season to administer the ordeal by balance. न धटं चातिमारुते ।[53] i.e. strong wind blowing may upset or shake the balance and proper weight cannot be obtained, which finally would harm the justice. Thus Nārada says ''शिशिरे तु धटः स्मृतः । प्रवाते न तुलां नृणाम् ॥''[54] Therefore any season is agreeable for the balance ordeal, provided there is no strong wind ''इदं सर्वर्तुकं प्रोक्तं पण्डितैः धटधारणम् ॥''[55]

The ordeal by water is administered in summer only. ''ग्रीष्मे सलिलमित्युक्तम् ।''[56]. It cannot be administered in the cold season ''न शीते तोयशुद्धिः स्यात् ।''[57]. Reason is obvious, defendant would not be able to hold the breath in cold water in cold season that long and that would adversely affect the justice.

Ordeal of poison can be administered only in cold season : 'विषं काले तु शीतले'[58]. Similarly, it cannot be administered in the rainy season 'न प्रावृषि विषं दद्यात् ।'[59]. Ordeal of poison is prohibited in rainy season, may be because of the humid weather, due to which poison would spoil. It is advised in the winter only, so that agony caused by poison is little tolerable in cold season.

The ordeals of sacred libation, rice and hot piece of gold are to be administered indoors. Therefore, specific season is not advised. They can be administered in any season.

Months of *Caitra* (March-April), *Mārgaśīrṣa* (Nov-Dec.) and *Vaiśākha* (April-May) are supposed to be proper months for all sorts of ordeals.[60]

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51. Nr. I - 300.
52. - Ibid.
53. Jolly, J. : *Institutes of Nārada,* P. 112-113 Foot note, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1885.
54. Nr. I - 254, 259.
55. Nr. I - 260.
56. Nr. I - 254.
57. Nr. I - 259.
58. Nr. I - 254.
59. Nr. I - 259.
60. Quo. from Nr. VI - 15.

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Nārada further discusses about proper time and place. All sorts of ordeals are to be administered before noon.[61]

Another important rule ragarding the ordeals is, 'ordeals administered at an improper place or at an unsuitable hour or in solitary place constitute a deviation from the proper course of law suit.[62] This rule makes it very clear that proper witnesses are necessary while administering ordeals.'

3. The Third prerequisite is : Which ordeal is suitable for whom ? Even who can undego an ordeal and who cannot ? Who is exempted from ordeals ? etc.

A distressed person, a woman and a young child is not supposed to undergo an ordeal of water.[63] Only strong men can be tested by fire, water or poison.[64] Ordeals are never to be administered to persons engaged in performing a vow, to those affected with a heavy calamity, to the diseased, to ascetics or to women, if one listens to the dictates of justice.[65] A distressed person should not be given ordeal by water. Poison should not be given to a billious person. Ordeal by fire is not for a person afflicted with white leprosy, or blind.[66] (i.e. नार्तानां तोयशुद्धिः स्यात् न विषं पित्तरोगिणाम् ।
श्वित्र्यन्धकुनखीनां च नाग्निशुद्धिर्विधीयते ।।)

The *Brāhmaṇa* is supposed to take only ordeal by balance. ''ब्राह्मणस्य धटो देयः ।''[67]. Fire can be given to a *Kṣatriya* क्षत्रियस्याग्निरुच्यते ।[68]. Ordeal of water should be administered to a *Vaiśya* and ordeal by poison is for *Śudra*.

वैश्ये तु सलिलं देयं विषं शूद्रे प्रदापयेत् ।
न ब्राह्मणे विषं दद्यात् न लोहं क्षत्रियो हरेत् ।।[69]

Ordeal by sacred libation and ordeal by balance are prescribed for all castes.[70] Ordeal

61. Quo. from Nr. VI - 15.
62. Quo. from Nr. VI - 15.
63. Nr. I - 255 & Quo. from Nr. VI - 9.
64. Quo. from Nr. VI-10.
65. Nr. I - 256.
66. Nr. I - 255.
67. Nr. I - 334.
68. - *Ibid* -
69. Nr. I - 335.
70. Quo. from Nr. VI-6.

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by poison is applicable for all *varṇas* and castes except *Brāhmaṇa*[71]. Eunuchs, the feeble persons, the distressed persons, infants, women, and the blind should be always tested by the ordeals of balance.[72]

The whole proceeding of an ordeal is to be supervised by the chief judge[73], who is a learned *Brāhmaṇa*, well versed in Veda and Vedāṅgas, Sacred learning and of religious conduct, tranquil - minded, unambitious, fond of veracity, one who has kept fast and taken bath should worship properly all the deities as per rule.

Conclusion :

These ordeals are considered as a part of law of evidence and a divine mode of proof. The dominance and importance of ordeals seems to have reached its peak during Nārada's time. The addition of two new ordeals can be taken as the proof of this (ordeals of rice and hot piece of gold). Manu or Yajñavalkya, according to their extant codes, do not seem to give much importance to this mode of proof from their dealing. There is possibility that Manu's description of ordeals is lost to time, but Yājñavalkya's discussion is very definite and his treatment is very scanty. Whereas Nārada gives every elaborate detail of the ordeals, which not only suggests his development on his predecessors, but trend in the contemporary society as well. Possibility is, people took more and more to the divine proofs or the kings gave greater importance to ordeals to extract the truth and dispense with the elaborate and tedious procedure of investigation.

Secondly, ordeals except the cases of high treason and larceny - are not administered without defendant's consent. They cannot be imposed. So ordeals cannot be called a regular mode of proof.

This mode of proof is equally slippery and not fool proof. Nārada himself declares that, 'ordeals are rendered nugatory by artful men.'

दिव्यान्यप्यप्रमाणानि नीयन्ते वाक्यवञ्चकैः ।
देशकालप्रमाणादावप्रमादो भवेदतः ॥[74]

This can be called a very refined way of torture to extract the truth. Of course it cannot really be called torture. The ordeals are more like a psychological lever to pour out

71. - *Ibid* -
72. Quo. from Nr. VI-8.
73. Quo. from Nr. VI-16.
74. Nr. Mātṛ. I - 30.

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the truth or confession. Most innocent people, not having a criminal mode of mind and wrongly incriminated in the crime would come out with the truth through the fear of ordeal and punishment.

However, the ordeals which cause hurt to body like ordeal by water, fire and hot piece of gold can be cent percent fool proof and may help to extract the truth even before administering ordeals through the fear of hurt. The ordeals of fire and water can be harmful to the body. But in the ordeal of fire seven thick green leaves of holy fig tree almost save one's hands from burning defying the heat. In water ordeal, basically it is given only to strong men and the total time to complete the ordeal would not exceed three to four minutes. Which means ordeals are not supposed to cause death or fatal injury. Similarly, in the ordeal by poison, certain strong poisons are avoided, and quantity prescribed is very small. Again, poison is mixed with more quantity of ghee. If the convulsions are detected, then also defendant is given antidote, though he may get some other punishment, and in the case of lack of convulsions, also antidote is given. Apparently these ordeals seem scary, but once they are analysed, one can see the precautions taken, so that they do not hurt.

In the ordeals of sacred libation, rice and balance, there is no fear of bodily harm. There is every possibility that persons would undergo any of these ordeals and get away with their offence. The base of all these ordeals is fear of sin, or in better words, the fear of divine punishment, which plays a leading part. Therefore Nārada stresses that, 'such ordeals should not be administered to seasoned criminals, irreligious one, ungrateful men, eunuchs, rascals, unbelievers, *vrātya* and slaves.'[75]

महापराधे निर्धर्मे कृतघ्ने क्लीबकुत्सिते ।
नास्तिकव्रात्यदासेषु कोशपानं विवर्जयेत् ॥

Except the ordeal of hot piece of gold, no other ordeal is harmful. Probably, that is why earlier law - makers have not mentioned this kind of ordeal. Therefore it can be safely said that administration of an ordeal is more of a mental exercise and tension for the defendant, than its actual effect on the body. The fear of sin and its consequences, fear of hell, fear of bodily harm in an ordeal is the base of ordeals. Ordeal probably was a social necessity to invoke the fear of law among the people.

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75. Nr. I - 332.

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લેખકોને :

૧. પાનની એક જ બાજુએ, ટાઈપ અથવા કૉમ્પ્યુટરમાં તૈયાર કરેલા અને એ શક્ય ન હોય તો શાહીથી સુવાચ્ય અક્ષરે લખેલા લેખો મોકલવા. ટાઈપ/કૉમ્પ્યુટર નકલમાં ભૂલોને સુધાર્યા પછી જ લેખ મોકલવો. ગૂજરાત વિદ્યાપીઠના જોડણીકોશ પ્રમાણે જોડણી રાખવી આવશ્યક છે. લેખની મૂળ પ્રત જ મોકલવી. લેખની કાર્બન નકલ મોકલો ત્યારે તે અંગેનું સ્પષ્ટ કારણ જણાવવું.

૨. લેખમાં અવતરણો, અન્ય વિદ્વાનોનાં મંતવ્યો ટાંકવામાં આવે તો તે અંગેનો સંદર્ભ પૂરેપૂરી વિગત સાથે આપવો અનિવાર્ય છે. પાદટીપમાં એ સંદર્ભની વિગત આપતાં લેખક અથવા સંપાદક/સંશોધક (અટક પહેલી), ગ્રંથ, પ્રકાશક, પ્રકાશનવર્ષ, આવૃત્તિ, પૃષ્ઠ એ ક્રમ જાળવવો જરૂરી છે.

૩. 'સ્વાધ્યાય'માં છપાયેલ સર્વ લેખોનો કૉપીરાઈટ મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ યુનિવર્સિટી, વડોદરા હસ્તક છે. લેખકે અથવા અન્ય કોઈએ લેખમાંનો કોઈ અંશ લેખિત પરવાનગી વગર પુનર્મુદ્રિત કરવો નહીં.

૪. સંક્ષેપશબ્દો પ્રયોજતા પહેલાં એ શબ્દો અન્ય સ્થાને પૂરેપૂરા પ્રયોજેલા હોવા જોઈએ.

૫. પાદટીપોનો ક્રમ સળંગ રાખી જે તે પૃષ્ઠ ઉપર તે તે પાદટીપોનો નિર્દેશ જરૂરી છે.

સ્વાધ્યાય

સ્વાધ્યાય અને સંશોધનનું ત્રૈમાસિક

સંપાદક : મુકુંદ લાલજી વાડેકર

વર્ષમાં ચાર અંક બહાર પડે છે - વસંતપંચમી અંક, અક્ષયતૃતીયા અંક, જન્માષ્ટમી અંક, અને દીપોત્સવી અંક

લવાજમ :

- ભારતમાં ..... રૂ. ૪૦.૦૦ (ટપાલ ખર્ચ સાથે)
- પરદેશમાં ..... યુનાઈટેડ સ્ટેટ્સ ઑફ અમેરિકા માટે ..... ૧૨.૦૦ ડૉલર (ટપાલ ખર્ચ સાથે)
- યુરોપ અને અન્ય દેશો માટે ..... પૌં. ૭.૦૦ (ટપાલ ખર્ચ સાથે)

આખા વર્ષના ગ્રાહકો લવાજમના વર્ષની શરૂઆતથી જ નોંધવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ અગાઉથી સ્વીકારવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ મોકલતી વખતે કયા ગ્રંથ માટે લવાજમ મોકલ્યું છે તે સ્પષ્ટ જણાવવું. લવાજમ વર્ષ જાન્યુઆરીથી ડિસેમ્બર સુધીનું ગણાય છે, જે આ સરનામે મોકલવું.

નિયામકશ્રી, પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યામંદિર,
મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય,
રાજમહેલ દરવાજા પાસે, રાજમહેલ રોડ,
વડોદરા - ૩૯૦ ૦૦૧.

જાહેરાતો :

આ ત્રૈમાસિકમાં જાહેરાત આપવા માટે લખો

સંપાદક, 'સ્વાધ્યાય',
પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યામંદિર, મ.સ. વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય,
રાજમહેલ દરવાજા પાસે, રાજમહેલ રોડ, વડોદરા - ૩૯૦ ૦૦૧.

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THE ROLE OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF VEDĀNTA IN HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

MILIND M. BEEDKAR*

To channelize the resources in the bosom of the heroic youth, everyone must first be trained to study the problems of life and evaluate each of them correctly. This calls forth a special mental balance and intellectual self - application. With such a balanced mind and intellect, one can arrive at potentially creative judgements and constructive conclusion. In the very midst of confusing situations, train the mind and intellect to evaluate and judge explosive conditions, threatening challenges and suffocating situations.

When one has no control over oneself, one has also no control over the world outside. Then one becomes a slave to it. Thereafter dissipation of one's energies drains one dry, until at last one's entire vital dynamic personality is blown out. Neither can such a man's mind feel, nor his intellect think. How to bring back the original personality which will assert and plan the 'Real goal of life'.

In this world today this important aspect of the human personality, mental discipline, mental energies and faculties lies neglected. It is no fault of man since he does not know the state of his inner personality.

Self-analysis and introspection are the very beginnings of all philosophical inquiries into self-perfection. They are the perfect means of achieving a true vital blissful living.

The author has touched on the above aspects in this article.

From time to time ancient philosophy needs an intelligent re-interpretation in the context of the new times.

The science of living called Religion was born from life and it records man's attempt at improving the conditions of the world, so that people may gain freedom from all wants and needs, thus enjoying high standard of living, but religion is that which imparts the Art of Living by which each one discovers in oneself.

The philosophy which points out only a view of life can certainly be scientific in its treatment and thought - content, but, it would lack the technique; and a science without

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technique is mere fables for children to read. Of all the religions of the world, in *Vedānta* alone it states that it is not only a view of life. *Vedānta* is a scientific religion with a perfect technique explained exhaustively, whereby everyone can slowly develop or evolve to reach the state of perfection.

Life is a series of challenges. Moment to moment we are faced, as it were, with a question mark 'to do or not to do' that ever swims towards us in the flood of time.

In childhood, man's mental preoccupations are all edged with sheer wonderment, in youth, man's bosom is ever riddled with the unending storms of his desires, and then he thirsts for their fulfillment, in terms of his material success, glory, wealth etc.

At this stage of development of the individual, an unintelligent and abrupt denial of sensual pleasures and blind following of scriptural injunctions, result in suppression in him. This suppression, if continued over a period of time, leads to bitterness, frustration and cynicism in life. Any attempt thereafter to live a spiritual life will be impossible.

Maharṣi Vyāsa, the poet philosopher collected the vedic passages and for the first time edited them into four written volumes, which constitute today, the four great Vedas of the Hindus, the *Ṛgveda*, the *Yajurveda,* the *Sāmaveda,* and the *Atharvanaveda.* Each *Veda* contains four section - the *Mantra* portion, the *Brāhamaṇa* sections and the *Āraṇyaka* and the *Upaniṣad*s. Thus, the *Upaniṣad* has come to be called *Vedānta.*

Vedas enternally rule the kingdom of knowledge for ever and stand for all that is noble and pure in human life. All Upaniṣads are a dialogue between a learned man of realized wisdom, living a life of perfection in Truth, and his disciples seeking the great goal of life and imploring his help to reach it.

Thus the Upaniṣads contain the cream of the Vedas.

The *Śrīmad Bhagavadgītā,* the divine song of the Lord which appears in the *Bhīṣmaparva* of the *Mahābhārata,* comprising of 18 chapters, is the summary of the Upaniṣadic conclusions of the life. It is the philosophical secret which serves the common man as it is applicable to day to day world. The *Gītā* offers a solution to all problems of humanity. It is very intimately connected with the life of every one of us, whether it be in a market place, at home, in the political place or work place. We have to come into contact with the outside and in doing so, we must know the art of setting up right contacts. If we contact it unintelligently, the world may crush us all together. The world has no mercy, it has only its laws.

The *Bhagavadgītā* not only indicates theories of the Hindu-way of life but also reveals certain definite schemes by which every individual can work out his own self improvement.

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In the *Gītā,* the philosophical theories are couched in a clear language and schemes are unique in their variety and effectiveness for self improvement. They are most acceptable to the intelligent modern man as they are direct, simple and easy to do exercises for the unfoldment of the personality in man.

The *Gītā* particularly addresses itself to the average man's Mental problems such as vague restlessness, impossible aspirations, unending desires, utter illusionments and suffocating despairs, dejection, shattering confusions, all these are depicted in Arjuna. Lord Kṛṣṇa's psychological treatment for the ailments constitutes the main theme of the *Bhagavadgītā.*

All these aspects of *Vedānta,* along with its basic principles can be put into practice. It is like eating the food, digesting and assimilating it, so that it becomes a part of our bodies.

To start with, we must always bear in mind the purpose of all spiritual practices, i.e. to open a channel within us by which we may feel the presence of God and see what is now invisible to us. The channel is opened when we are able to drop the consciousness of the little "I" and free our mind from impurities or from its attachment to material things only. There are various methods by which this may be accomplished - such as by prayer, by meditation, by work, devotion, self-sacrifice and self control. The aim of the spiritual life is not to destroy our present life, but to enrich it, to make it fuller, more effective. It should never be thought that we are abandoning or neglecting anything, when we try to do the right thing which forwards our soul.

If we wish to control the effect, we must find the cause. If we want to control death, we must know what life is. Death can't be controlled by simply thinking of death, we have to find life.

A man who is running after the external pleasure must withdraw his mind from it so that he can get another point of view. It does not mean laying aside our outer activities, it means gaining a new point of view, perhaps more important than the present one. It is this balancing of the two sides and gaining a state of equilibrium which prepares our mind for the knowledge of the Supreme. So long as it is over - powered by one aspect of life, the physical and material, we can never know our inner being and our soul will be starved even though our body is fed.

According to the conception of creation given in *Vedānta,* this human body is greater than all animals but greater even than the *devas*(angels) because man alone is in a fit position to attain perfection. The intelligence or the power of understanding which man manifests, makes him greater than all. It is through the unfolding of the faculty of discrimination that man rises higher in thought and in wisdom. This discrimination is called in Sanskrit *Viveka*

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and is most important at every step of the life. *Viveka* means discriminating between the real and the unreal, between the true and the false. This world is a mixture. There are good things and evil things, there are beneficial things and harmful things; and we are placed in the midst of this turmoil of duality to find our way out to that state where there is no duality, but only one existence of absolute bliss. For this, we need *Viveka* to help us and lead us in the right path.

Things of the world, fascinating to the senses and appearing to be real, often lead us astray when we lack the power of discrimination. Hard indeed is the path of *saṁsāra* (earthly life). Even the keenest human minds are sometimes deceived by the charm of *Māyā*. Ignorance is the cause of all our miseries and sufferings and ignorance exist because of non-discrimination.

There are three *guṇas* or states of matter called in Sanskrit *Sattva, Rajas* and *Tamas,* and according to the manifestation of these three qualities, we do find all the differences in the human beings. The man who possesses the quality of *Sattva* or goodness in him alone we see true fearlessness, up-rightness, purity, truthfulness, forgiveness and the absence of all anger and passions. Through self-control, he becomes peaceful and happy.

The man who follows the path of *rajas,* never finds any peace or rest, because there is no limit to human desires. The more we gratify them, the stronger they become. It is like adding fuel to the fire and thus making the flame stronger. We can not expect to find peace and happiness when we are overpowered by the darkness of *Tamas* or the unrest of *Rajas.* Through discrimination, we learn to control our lower tendencies and manifest the highest quality of *Sattva* or goodness, by which alone we can hope to attain perfection.

In Patanjali's *Yogasūtras,* the remarkable advice has been given "Friendship, mercy, gladness, indifference, being thought of in regard to subjects, happy, unhappy, good or evil, respectively, pacify the mind."

Our own character is one which is formed by ourselves by our own habits of thought and by our own deeds. We alone are responsible for our characters. If we are now bad, we can change and become good. It all depends upon ourselves. Purity of mind has been the foundation of all truly great characters. This is achieved by using power of discrimination, by constantly training the mind to distinguish the right from the wrong and to seek only the good.

There is only one way to knowledge and wisdom and that is through the power of concentration. Without this power nobody can accomplish any thing in this world. The more we can concentrate our mind on the subject of our study, the more rapidly the knowledge

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of that subject is revealed to us. This can be achieved only by constant 'Meditation'. It is a constant remembrance of the object we meditate upon.

Conclusion :

To put all the practices into practice and to develop the human force in the organization, "Realization" of self is the only thing that can bring satisfaction to us. No amount of theory can ever satisfy our minds. Unless we can see the reality of things for ourselves, we can never find satisfaction.

It is very difficult for those who identify themselves with the body and have strong attachment for sensual pleasures to realize the self which is beyond all limitations. Too much fondness for the body, creates bondage and obstructs our spiritual growth.

We try to get happiness in this world but nothing can give it unless we have found it within ourselves. Only the mentally and physically strong can travel by this road, but he who is determined and perseveres to the end arrives at realization of the self. This realization is the goal of all mankind.

When a seeker after truth went to a saint to learn about the Self, the saint gave the teaching - *"tat tvam asi"* [Thou are That], the Lord does not exist apart from you, find HIM out yourself within yourself.

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THE STATE OF JAIN FAITH IN GUJARAT UNDER THE WESTERN KṢATRAPAS : AN OVERVIEW APPRAISAL

RASESH JAMINDAR*

As the preamble to the theme to be discussed here, we in the beginning look into the brief resume of the region (i.e. Gujarat) and the royal dynasty (i.e. Western Kṣatrapas).

The Region

Gujarat has been from the most earliest times a busy field of actions, reactions and inter-actions of many ethnic and linguistic elements and so also religious forces in our sub-continent. Wave after wave of nations and races alongwith forces of different faiths has swept over its faces with their peculiar social, cultural, political and religious institutions, languages, creeds and cultures as varied and variegated as themselves. But during all these phases and processes both the Sanskrit language and faiths remained a backbone factor across the time.

Inspite of the synthetic cultural unity of our country every one of her provinces has from the remotest past developed and possessed social and cultural traditions as well as mores and milieu of its own. It is the synthesis of these separate and diverse socio-cultural traditions subsisting in different parts of our land and possessing distinct individualities that constitutes the mosaic of *Bhāratīya Sanskṛti.*[1] Gujarat is no exception and hence this overview.

Three Divisions

From the first century through the fourteenth century after Vikramāditya, the epoch-maker of the *Vikrama Saṁvat,* the history of Gujarat could be divided into three big periods as politically stable and culturally rich as well as varied and viable. They are : (1) the Western Kṣatrapa dynasty (80 to 466 V.E.) (2) the Maitrakas of Valabhi (528 to 847 V.E.) and (3) the Solanki dynasty (1000 to 1362 V.E.).

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1. For more details see this author's article on "Cultural Contours of Gujarat and its Contributions in the making of National Heritage" *Bulletin of the Chunilal Gandhi Vidya Bhavan,* Surat, no.28, March 1985, pp. 34 to 49.

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The Western Kṣatrapa Dynasty

Of these three royal dynasties the Western Kṣatrapas were the rulers of the ever first independent kingdom of Gujarat.

The first four centuries after Christ for Gujarat had been in many ways unique. During these centuries this territory, then known as Western India, was ruled by those kings who were known as the Western Kṣatrapas in the chequered history of our country. Enjoying the status of the Śaka origin, these Western Kṣatrapa rulers were no doubt independent kings and ruled over the vast territory of the then Gujarat generally called as *Paścima Bhārata* (henceforth PB) from 23 A.D. to 410 A.D. It seems that the long rule of this royal dynasty was obviously the ever first long-ruled kingdom amongst the known royal dynasties of our early historic age. Alike their long rule, their political geography (i.e. extent) was also very vast in length and breadth comprising of almost all land what we call the present day western division of our sub-continental country. This means that the extent of their political sway included the territory from Pushkar-Ajmer in the north through Nasik in the south and from Ujjayini in the east to almost the long stretch of seashore in the west. Therefore, they ruled from different capitals at different times, namely, Bharukaccha, Ujjayini and Girinagar. Though they came from Central Asia as a Śaka race through Iran, no doubt after political control over the then PB, they became *Bhāratīya* and followed different faiths prevalent in the then Gujarat. They issued their own silver coins thereby contributing some new features and facets in our coinage-history. Their kingship, pattern was well established. Chashtana was the epoch-maker of the *Śaka-Saṁvat*. His grandson Rudradāman was a mighty benevolent ruler who defeated the Sātavāhana King but did not snatch his territory, an important political act precursor to Samudra Gupta's act of this nature. The overall cultural activities under the Western Kṣatrapa Kings were very progressive and prosperous and hence commendable. Thus in the early history and culture of both Gujarat and Bhārata they had carved out their specific identity and political niche by ruling over the vast territory for very long and so also contributing substantially in the making of our national heritage.[2]

Here we purport to focus on their contribution in the growth of Jainism with special reference to literature and art.

Importance of Religion

Religion is basically and fervently a pivotal point in maintaining individual, national and international peace and discipline in the societies. It is envisaged to observe the spiritual

2. For the history and culture of the Western Kṣatrapa dynasty, see Rasesh Jamindar, *Kṣatrapakālnum Gujarāt*, Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad, 1975 and *Itihas Samshodhana*, Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad, 1976.

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discipline and practices and establish inter-religion harmony, social justice and co-operative movement for strengthning environment. It contributes to wipe out vengeance, violence, encroachment, bigotry and masqueradity from the society and provides help for creative, co-operative and constructive solutions to the dilemmas on the globe. If we peruse through our historio-cultural aspects it seems that in earlier times of human thinking religion, philosophy, literature, arts and science were not separated as they are today. This holds good for western countries. Our religions go hand in hand with philosophy, literature, science and arts. But what we need today is the spirit of understanding and toleration as well as respect for each other in our day-to-day life and work.[3]

Jainism in *Paścima* Bhārata

To understand the provenance and popularity of Jainism on the basis of literature and arts in what we term as PB, it would be hopefully useful to have an overview of the state of the Jain art and literature and so also religious activities of the period which witnessed the powerful long rule of the Western Kṣatrapa dynasty. Of course, this is a question by itself to be answered. Based as it is on the literary sources and seconded by art-activites, there is a popular acceptance that Jainism was prevalent in the then PB.

***Ācārya* Nemināṭha**

We find the activities of some Jaina *Ācāryas* in PB. The earliest reference in this matter seems to be that of Nemināṭha, the twenty second *Tīrthaṅkara.* He was born at Dvārāvatī, present day famous Dwarka *Tīrtha,* to king Samudravijaya and queen Śivadevī. It is said that the spread of Jain faith in PB was started from the time and life of Nemināṭha, as the scene of his renunciation was laid on Mount Girnar. But to substantiate this view there is hardly any archaeological evidence available. This, therefore, does not help us in deciding about the question of early popularity of this religion in this region.

***Jaina Ācāryas* and Jainism**

Coming to the period under review we see some activities of a few *Jaina Ācāryas* namely Mallavādīsūri, Siddhasena Divākara, Nāgārjuna, Pādaliptasūri, Vajrabhūti and *Ācārya* Khaputa. All these *Ācāryas* either hailed from Gujarat or were associated for their activities with PB. Of these, Nāgārjuna was born in Gujarat. Pādaliptācārya visited Dhaṅkpuri (present-day Dhanka in Rajkot district) and had a dialogue with Nāgārjuna. The modern Palitana near Bhavnagar is named, as it is believed, after Pādaliptasūri. Nāgārjuna had then installed the idol of Pārśvanātha on the bank of river Shéḍhī and founded the *Tīrtha* Stambhanaka (present

3. Jain Sagarmal & Pandey Shriprakash, *Multi-Dimensional Application of Anekāntavāda,* Varanasi, 1999, p. 48.

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Thamana in Kheda District). *Ācārya* Vajrabhūti was from Bharukaccha (modern Bharuch). He was the teacher of queen Padmāvatī, the wife of Nahapāna, the Western Kṣatrapa ruler of the Kṣaharāta family. Both Siddhasena and Mallavādi belonged to Gujarat. While Mallavādī hailed from Valabhi (the known seat of higher learnings in PB and the capital city of the Maitraka dynasty later), Siddhasena's birthplace is not known. *Ācārya* Khaputa lived in pre-kṣatrapa period and was native of Bharukaccha. Though all these activities of the *Jainācāryas* establish the popularity of the Jain faith in PB, the archaeological evidences in support are slender, a factor which seemingly goes against this firmly rooted belief. Nevertheless, the literary sources do help us in proving the spread of Jainism in PB.[4]

Literary Sources

Both Sanskrit and Prakrit literature are one of the varied source materials of our history and culture. While such literature has more or less a religio-regional bias, it is nevertheless most useful material when archaeological evidences are meagre or none, especially in the making of national heritage. Gujarat is no exception in this regard. Hence an appraisal is made here in brief of the role that Gujarat has played under the Western Kṣatrapas.

During the Western Kṣatrapas PB had not produced many books in Sanskrit and Prakrit. But whatever little it had contributed through these languages had, no doubt, far-reaching immense impact on the literary activities. The main contribution of PB was in the field of religio-philosophical literature during the period under review.

Origin of two sects

The origin of two sects, namely Śvetāmbara and Digambara, of the Jain religion took place in PB according to one Jain *Anuśruti*. Though it may not be considered as very historical, this *Anuśruti*, as narrated by Devendrasūri, puts on record that the sect Śevaḍā (i.e. Śvetāmbara) was originated at Valabhi in V.E. 136 as per Śvetāmbara Paramparā and Kāmbalika sect (Vastradhārī) at Valabhipura in V.E. 139 (Veera 609) according to Digambara *Paramparā*. Both these events show the importance of Valabhi (i.e. Valabhipura) as a main centre of Jainism. This in turn suggests the growth of Jain religion in this region.[5]

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4. See foot-note No.2, 1975, Chapters 8 and 9; 1976, Chapters 10, 18 & 25.
5. एक्कसह छत्तीसे विक्कम रायस्य मरणपत्तस्स ।
सोरठे वलहीए उप्पणो सेवडो संघो ॥ (*Darśanasāra*, verse 11)
छब्बस सएहिं न मुत्तरेहि तइय सिद्दिगयस्य वीरस्स ।
कम्बलियानं दि क्कि वलहिपुरिए समुपन्ना ॥ (Jineśvarasūri, *Pramāṇalakṣaṇa*)
(See also Devasenasūri's *Bhāvasaṁgraha*, verses 52-75)

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Councils on Āgama texts

Āgama Texts, which were shattered and scattered with the forces of circumstances, were collected at Magadha council. To collect and collate these shattered scattered Jain canons, two councils met at Mathura and Valabhi, most probably unknown with each other, under the presidentships of *Ācārya* Skandilji and *Ācārya* Nāgārjuna respectively during the first quarter of the 4th century A.D. These collected-collated-written texts were respectively known as *Māthurī Vācanā* or *Skandilji Vācanā* and *Vālabhi Vācanā* or *Nāgārjunī Vācanā.* Thus by collecting, collating and editing these Jain canons at Valabhi, PB had contributed much in reviving the tradition of Āgama literature. The date of *Vālabhī Vācanā* most acceptable would be Vīra Nirvāna 827 (or 840), i.e. either in 300 or 313 A.D. Since most of these texts follow both Valabhi and Mathura councils, the importance of Valabhi is noteworthy in particular, and in turn shed more light on the spread and popularity of Jain faith in PB under the Western Kṣatrapa rule.[6]

Siddhasena Divākara

As first hand historical evidences being not available we have to just rely on Jain tradition to know the life and work of Siddhasena Divākara. He was a leading Jain philosopher and a captain promoter of *Anekānta* philosophy. He was outspoken in his approach and transparent in his thinking. This is revealed by reviewing his works and so also by his act of expiation in view of translating Āgamas in Sanskrit language. Thus we may say that he did not blindly follow the Jain tradition.

Haribhadrasūri (8th cent. V.E.) in his *Pañcavastu* has mentioned Divākara and his *Sanmati.* There are three references regarding *Sanmati* and Siddhasena in *Niśīthasūtra* (598 S.E.) of Jinadāsagaṇī Mahattar. Siddhasena was the disciple of Vṛddhavādī who in turn was the pupil of Skandilācārya (for date see earlier discussion on *Māthurī Vācanā*). Mallavādisūri (V.E. 414) in his *Dvādaśāraṇayacakra* has referred to Siddhasena's *Sanmati* and his commentary on this work.

Hence from aforesaid references it seems that Siddhasena Divākara must have preceded Mallavādī or might have been his early contemporary. This means we may probably put Divākara sometime near 300 A.D.

Three of his works are known to us : (1) *Sanmati-tarka-prakaraṇa,* (2) *Batrisio* and

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6. Kalyāṇavijayaji, *Vīra Nirvāṇa Saṁvat aur Jaina Kālagaṇanā,* Jalor, 1931 pp. 104-118. Taking into account all aspects Kalyaṇavijayji clarifies that the *Nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra took place either in October or November of 528 B.C.

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(3) *Nyāyāvatāra*. All the three are available.[7]

Mallavādīsūri

He was the most prominent man of letters and known philosopher of PB during the period under review. *Prabandhas* shed good light on his work and life. Alike Divākara, we also do not have first hand material about his date. His works do not mention date. So we have mostly to rely on the dates of his predecessors who have been referred to and more so on the dates of those successor logicians who are not mentioned by him in his work.

Dvādaśāranayacakra

Bhartṛhari, Diṅnāga and Siddhasena Divākara are found referred to in his book. According to the *Bauddha* tradition Diṅnāga lived sometime between 345 and 425 A.D. Bhartrhari was contemporary to Diṅnāga. Siddhasena had referred Diṅnāga and Mallavādī had mentioned both of them. He had not referred the names of Udyotakara (575 to 625 A.D.) in *Prabhāvakacarita*. The date of debate between Mallavādī and *Bauddhas* is mentioned as 884 after *Vīranirvāṇa* (i.e. V.E. 414 A.D. 357-58). Keeping in mind all these references we can put Mallavādisūri sometime in the middle of the 4th century A.D.

He had to his credit the following works : (1) *Dvādaśāraṇayacakra*, (2) *Paumacariya* and (3) Commentary on *Sanmati-tarka-prakaraṇa*. Unfortunately all the three are not available in origin.[8]

***Ācarya* Pādalipta**

Prabhāvakacarita considers Pādalipta a native of Palitana (originally known as Pādaliptapura). According to Jain tradition Pādaliptācārya was expert in wisdom, *mantra* (incantation) and *tantra* (body of religious texts containing magical and mystical formularies for the worship of deities). Prabhācandrācārya notes that Pādalipta had a meeting with *Siddha* Nāgārjuna at Dhaṅkapurī (modern Dhaṅka in Rajkot district). Nāgārjuna, in the memory of his *guru*, established a town at the foot of the mountain Śatruñjaya and named

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7. Pandit Sukhlalji & Pandit Bechardasji, *Sanmati Prakaraṇa*, Gujarati edition, Ahmedabad, 1952, p. 58, Jinavijayaji (ed.) *Vṛddhavādi Prabandha* in Prabhācandrācārya's *Prabhāvaka-carita* Bhavnagar, 1931. For more details see Rasesh Jamindar, 'Siddhasena aur Mallavādi kā Samaya', *Karmaveera Ānandapriyaji Abhinandan Grantha*, Vadodara, 1975. Also see Rasesh Jamindar, *op.cit.*, 1975, pp. 254-258.

8. See Rasesh Jamindar's article and book as in fn. 7. "New Lights on the date of Paumacariyam", *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 378-386; Jamindar Rasesh, "The Rāma Story and Mallavādisūri", *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. 17, No.3, 1968, pp. 237-239.

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it as Pādaliptapura as well as installed an image of Mahāvīra and statue of Pādalipta. Though not available, he did author a religious story in Prakrit viz. *Taraṅgavatī.* He wrote a Vṛtti on Āgama-book *Jyotiṣakaraṇḍaka.* He also compiled a book *Niravāṇakālikā* for *dīkṣā* and *pratiṣṭhā* ceremonies. Probably, he lived sometime during Western Kṣatrapa rule.[9]

Ācārya Vajrabhūti

This eminent poet and Jain *Ācārya* lived in Bharukaccha. He was contemporary of the Kṣaharāta king Nahapāna as has been mentioned in the *bhāṣya* of *Vyavahārasūtra* and so also on its commentary, proving thereby that he lived in the second or third quarter of the first century after Christ. Though none of his writings is available, he was a poet of eminence as proved from a dialogue he had with *Rāṇī* Padmāvatī, wife of King Nahapāna.[10]

Aṅgavijjā Paiṇṇaya

Written by an unknown author, this is an excellent work on prognostication, a science of divination through physical signs and symbols. An exceptionally rich source of our cultural history, this encyclopaedic Prakrit work has been edited by Muni Puṇyavijayaji and published by the Prakrit Text Society, (PTS) in 1957 as its first publication, which only recently is reprinted by PTS in 2000 A.D. as the same was out of print. It is extremely, as it seems from the nature of the book, difficult for a single person to deal with so many diversified subjects and things propounded in this work. A composite group of scholars consisting of a historian, a linguist, a numismatist, an economist, a physicist, an astrologer, an art critic, a social scientist, an expert on costumes and ornaments *et cetera,* only can fix date-range of this work combining their knowledge together.

Taking into account and consideration some of the materials, such as the description of many types of boats (*Koṭṭimba* and *Tappaga*), mention of the word *Āyāga*, list of the coins (*Suvarṇamasak, Kārṣāpaṇa, Khaṭṭapaka, Purāṇa* etc.) and by showing their references, this present author tried to prove that this work was completed some where in PB, rather particularly in its Gujarat region when the Western Kṣatrapa dynasty was ruling especially during the later part of the Kṣatrapa regime i.e. during the 4th century after Christ. Had the author of the *Aṅgavijjā* not been in the Kṣatrapa rulers' good offices he would not have shown any such peculiar and particular interest in deriving the name of the coin from the name of the dynasty i.e. *Khaṭṭapaka* from the *Kṣatrapa.*[11]

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9. Sandesara, B.J., *Jain Āgama Sahityamāñ Gujarāt,* Ahmedabad, 1952, pp. 98-99.
10. *Ibid,* pp. 166-167.
11. Jamindar Rasesh, "The Date and Place of Aṅgavijjā", *Prācya Pratibhā,* Bhopal, Vol.4, No.2, pp. 101-106, as in fn. 2, 1976, Chapter 16 and *op. cit.* 1975, pp. 263-65.

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Existence of Jainism in PB

We can, from the aforegoing discussion, now certainly say that the Jain religion did exist very firmly in PB during the early centuries of the Christ Era. To collaborate the literary evidences we now take stock of available archaeological sources and try to further stamp the state of the growing Jain faith.

Sāṇā Caves

Nearly 62 caves are there as bee-hive on the hill of Sāṇā near Una town on the bank of river Rupen in Junagadh district of the present state of Gujarat. According to James Burgess these are very simple caves just as caves at Junagadh, Talaja and Dhanka. Most of the caves here are very much in dilapidated condition. On the top of the hill remains of a foundation with large-size bricks have been unearthed. At the height of 37 metre there is one cave, namely Bhīmacorī. Near it there is a *Caityagṛha* measuring 6 X 9 metres with a height of 4 metres. Its roof is flat. It has no circumambulatory. Inside the *Caityagṛha* there is a simple *stūpa* having no decoration of any sort. There are also two small *Caityagṛha* in the adjoining rooms.

Professor H.D. Sankalia suggests that these rock-cut caves are of Jain faith. Dr. U.P. Shah has opined that they belong to Buddhism. These caves do not oblige us with any symbol of either faiths. Thus it is difficult to say who were the occupants of these caves. Both Burgess and Sankalia consider that these caves might have been carved out in the beginning of the Christ Era. But the large-size bricks found on the top of the hill, flat roof of the *Caityagṛha* and such other structural material indicate that these caves were constructed during the second century of the *Khṛṣṭa Saṁvat.*[12]

Bāvā Pyārā Caves

Situated on the eastern outskirt of the city of Junagadh there lies a monastery, known as Bāvā Pyārāno *Maṭha*, near these caves. For the sake of convenience according to archaeological traditional convention these caves are name after this present day monastery. Burgess has given an elaborate description with illustrations. Later following him Sankalia has also described them. Hence, here we will discuss the problems pertaining to its date and occupancy.

Who the occupants were of these caves, I believe, is not easy to decide. Burgess has opined that these were originally excavated for Bauddha *bhikṣus*, but later on may have been

12. Burgess James, *Report on the Antiquities of Kathiawar and Kucch,* London, 1876, pp. 149 ff, Plate no. 29; Sankalia H.D., *Archaeology of Gujarat,* Bombay, 1941, pp. 52-53, Jamindar Rasesh, *op.cit.* 1975, pp. 190-91.

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occupied by *Jaina Munis.* The conclusion he based on, on the question of occupancy, is one fragmentary inscription found from these caves, as there is a mention of one of the Jain technical terms, namely *Kevalajñāna.* This epigraph runs thus : केवलीज्ञानसंप्राप्तानां जितजरामरणानाम् ..... Sankalia seems more positive in asserting that these indeed were the Jain caves. Impressed and influenced by the peculiar Jain term under reference, he further feels sure that the symbols carved over the door frame of one of those caves are Jain. There are some eleven auspicious symbols, of which the *Svastika,* the *Bhadrāsana,* the *Mīnayugala,* the *Purṇaghaṭa* and the *Darpaṇa* are clearly recognised. Sankalia finds similarity of these symbols with those carved on the *Āyāgapaṭas* of the Jain *stūpa* in Mathura.

Now from one of the caves, this present author has noticed another group of five symbols on other doorframe not so far reported till he discovered these symbols in 1963-64. Although in bad state of preservation, the symbols may be identified in sequence as *Darpaṇa, Mīnayugala, Purṇaghaṭa,* again *Mīnayugala* and one more *Darpaṇa.* Neither Burgess nor Sankalia reported them.

Now briefly we would have some reappraisal on the problems of its affiliation and the date of Bāvā Pyārā Caves.

It is generally believed that an image of a *Tīrthaṅkara* must be installed for worship in a Jain monastic settlement. This belief can be collaborated by many references through the ages. It also seems that the practice of worshipping Jain image also prevailed alongwith or side by side the worship of *stūpa,* the caitya-Vṛkṣa and the like. This was customary in the first three centuries after Christ, during which period the Bāvā Pyārā caves were excavated. The absence, therefore, of *Jina* image from these caves under reference is very significant, in as much as it disproves the Jain nature of these caves. This inference is further corroborated by the Dhanka caves of the period and very close to that of the Bāvā Pyārā caves, from where some Jain images have been found *in situ.* These caves, as they seem to indicate, were the earliest Jain settlement in this area.

Taken as a whole, then the symbols do not conclusively prove that the occupants of Bāvā Pyārā caves were Jains.

Now to the date. Burgess says nothing about the date. Sankalia places the date between 200 B.C. and 300 A.D. This author, while examining these caves in 1963-64 personally, had noticed two *Vyāla* figures each one on both sides at the lower end of a small entrance at the south end of second row of this group. Madhusudan Dhanki dates such Western Indian *Vyāla* figures to the 4th century A.D. Accordingly the *Vyāla* figures of Bāva Pyārā caves must have been carved in the first half of the 3rd century A.D.,

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for these *Vyāla* figures are cruder in execution and plainer in style than those referred to by Dhanki.[13]

Dhaṅka Caves

Situated on a hill known as Dhankagiri (in the vicinity of Dhanka village in Upaleta Taluka of Rajkot district). These caves are 48 kms northwest of Junagadh. In Jain literature and *Prabandhas* this village of Dhanka has been many times referred. This hill is adorned with images. According to Burgess they are probably *Bauddha*. While Sankalia suggests that they are Jain images. The reference to Dhankagiri as a Jain *Tirtha* in Jain literature corroborates the view of Sankalia.

On the western edge of this hill there are some caves. Of these the first one has three niches having Jain images. They are Śāntinātha and Pārśvanātha. There are other images too, but, for want of cognizance, it is not possible to recognise them.

Images and sculptures from these caves do help us for dating them. Burgess does not say anything about the date, but Sankalia says they were dug around 300 A.D. This view of Sankalia remains confirmed by the nudity of the Jīna images. Hence, the images of Dhanka might have been sculptured duing the first half of the fourth century A.D.[14]

Conclusion

This is just a random survey of the literary and archaeological sources to show that PB was profusely rich in the heritage of religious fervour in the making of religious studies and national heritage. Thus this short profile will suffice to show how important the state of Jain faith was for making our national identity. It seems from this discussion that the intensive and extensive study of various sources from every nook and corner of this region only will help in understanding the permanent value of the Jain faith.

Thus the just concluded overview of the extent of the faith in PB sheds a good deal of light on various cultural aspects in a miniature way; especially, telling perfectly and profusely the contribution of what was once a living force. The foregiven analysis not only shows the state and popularity of Jainism in PB during the reign of the Western Kṣatrapas, but also sheds more light on the problems of their affiliation and date. This survey is only intended to inspire further intensive study and research on the spread of Jainism in PB on the basis of archaeological and literary sources.

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13. Burgess James, *Ibid*, pp. 140 ff; Sankalia H.D. *Ibid*, pp. 48ff; Jamindar Rasesh, *Gujarātno Sāṅskṛtik Varaso*, Ahmedabad, 1990, pp. 17-23 and 1975, pp. 173-180.

14. Burgess James, *Ibid*, p. 150; Sankalia, H.D., *Ibid*, p. 53, 166-68; Jamindar Rasesh, *op. cit. 1975, pp. 191-192.*

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THE DEVALAKA MYTH IN THE ŚIVAPURĀṆA : AN EARLY EXAMPLE OF A JĀTIPURĀṆA ?

JAYANT BHALCHANDRA BAPAT*

I

A *Jātipurāṇa* is that historical writing which, through a myth, seeks to confirm the status of a *Jāti*, i.e. a caste. This article revolves around the last three *ślokas* of *adhyāya* 43 and the whole of *adhyāya* 44 of the *Jñānasaṁhitā* (JS) of the *Śivapurāṇa* (ŚP). As the title indicates, it seeks to interpret *adhyāya* 44 as a *Jātipurāṇa* of the *Devalakas* who are claimed by the modern day *Gurava* castes of Maharshtra, especially the *Śaiva Guravas,* to be the same as themselves. The claim to this identification is based on the fact that the present day *Guravas* have the rights of the first and the last *pūjā* of the day in the Śiva temples of Maharashtra, the right that is the subject of the *Devalaka* myth. It is this myth in the JS which tells the story of how this right came to be conferred upon the *Devalakas,* the progeny of Sudarśana, the son of the sage Dadhīci.

In so far as this myth is contained in the JS of the ŚP, this article also deals with the Indological concerns, namely, the structures of the myth, authenticity, authorship, variations in the myth, linguistic and grammatical structures and so on.

II

In the state of Maharashtra, the priests in the non-vaiṣṇavite temples are collectively called the *Guravas.* Although there are various castes and sub-castes within the *Guravas,* those who are called the *Śaiva Guravas* are considered to be superior to all others and have laid several claims to brahminhood. This article is concerned with the *Śaiva Guravas.*[1] In the course of an interview, the Waghmare brothers, two well read and knowledgeable *Śaiva-Guravas*, said that the *Guravas* were a very ancient community, "who had descended directly from none other than Śiva and Pārvatī themselves and they were in fact mentioned in the *Jñānasaṁhitā* (JS) of the *Śivapurāṇa"* (ŚP). They added that "the *Guravas* are also known as *Devalaka* Brahmins and this was confirmed by the use by some *Guravas* of

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1. For a detailed account of the Guravas, see J.B. Bapat, "The Gurava Temple Priests of Maharashtra", *South Asia* (Special Issue), 16, 1993, pp. 79-100.

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Devalaka as a surname and the fact that *Devalaka* was also a sub-caste amongst the *Guravas*".[2] Other *Śaiva Guravas* also cited the *Śivapurāṇa* repeatedly in support of their claim to brahminhood. This mode of justification, i.e., explaining status through Sanskrit texts is relatively common and is used by castes that seek to improve their position within the caste hierarchy.[3] Such claims became commonplace especially during the time of the British censuses when many castes saw an opportunity to elevate themselves in the caste hierarchy. However, what was unusual about the *Śaiva Guravas* was that their initial claim pre-dated the first British census by over a hundred years. It was therefore of interest to examine the *Śivapurāṇa* (ŚP) for its relevance in offering a traditional explanation for the status of the *Guravas*. In doing so, I discovered that the *Devalaka* myth from the *Jñānasaṁhitā* (JS) that the *Guravas* quoted, can be looked at as a very early example of a *Jātipurāṇa* (JP) in itself. This is unique, because as I elaborate later, the JS was written probably around the 8th century A.D.

In this paper, I deal with the *Jñānasaṃhitā* of the *Śivapurāṇa* in general and the position of the *Devalaka* described therein, in particular.

The *Śivapurāṇa* (ŚP)

The ŚP is a massive work often included in the enumeration of the eighteen *Mahāpurāṇas*. It is divided into seven *Saṃhitās*. One of its major *Saṃhitās*, the *Vāyavīya saṃhitā*[4], names an earlier ŚP consisting of twelve *Saṃhitās* containing 100,000 verses. However, the extant editions of the ŚP do not contain five of the books of this earlier version, namely, *Vināyaka, Mātṛ, Rudraikādaśa, Sahasra-koṭi-rudra* and *Dharma*. Although there are a number of concise and abridged editions of the ŚP presently available, the most readily available extended version of the ŚP today is a 1991 reprint of the 1908 Venkateshwara Steam Press edition. It contains the following seven *Saṃhitās* :

1) *Vidyeśvara*, 2) *Rudra* 3) *Śatarudra* 4) *Koṭirudra* 5) *Umā* 6) *Kailāśa* and 7) *Vāyavīya*.

On the other hand, the Vangavāsi Press edition of 1908, published at Calcutta and the earlier Venkateshwara Steam Press edition of 1896, published in Bombay, contain only the following six *Saṃhitās*.

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2. Kalelkar G.M., *Mumbai Ilākhyātil Jāti*, (Baroda, *Sayaji Granthamala* No. 138, 1928), p.73.
3. For the Śaiva Guravas' attempts to justify their claim to brahminhood using this technique, see J.B. Bapat, "A Jātipurāṇa (Clan-history Myth) of the Gurava Temple Priests of Maharashtra", *Asian Studies Review*, 22, No.1, 1998, pp. 63-78.
4. The *Vāyavīya Saṃhitā*, 1, 49-57, *Śrī Śivamahāpurāṇam*, (Venkateshwara Steam Press, Bombay, 1908, Reprint 1991).

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1) *Jñāna* 2) *Vidyeśvara* 3) *Kailāśa* 4) *Sanatkumāra* 5) *Vāyavīya* and 6) *Dharma*

Between these editions, three of the eponymous *Saṃhitās* are identical in their content while those having different names are also different in content from one another. Hazra discussed the problems of the ŚP[5] in a detailed paper and argued that, "many of the *Saṃhitās* and even parts of some of them, were composed by different people at different times spread over a long period". Hazra's conclusions were, in his own words, based on "the contents of the individual *Saṃhitās,* analysed in terms of the style, philosophy, grammatical usage and so on". He pointed out that, while the *Sanatkumāra, Vāyavīya* and the *Jñānasaṃhitā* are tolerant of various types of Śaivism and accept the authority of both Vedas and the Āgamas, the *Kailāśa Saṃhitā* shows a strong tantric predilection and is antagonistic towards *Dvaita* and other non-Āgamic philosophies. This leads him to believe that the authorship of the *Kailāśa Saṃhitā* is different from that of the other works.

For reasons that are not clear, the *Jñānasaṃhitā* (JS) disappeared from the editions of the ŚP after 1896.[6] Patni, in his book on the ŚP, remarks that, "the *Rudrasaṃhitā* is the same as the *Jñānasaṃhitā* with a few variations here and there."[7] However, the two versions available to me show little similarity. Importantly, the *Rudrasaṃhitā* that I perused in different popular editions of the ŚP did not contain the *Baṭukotpattiḥ* episode dealing with the *Devalaka* myth. However, as it is present in the *Koṭirudrasaṃhitā,* Patni obviously meant that *Saṃhitā.*

The *Devalaka* Myth

The *Devalaka* myth, which occupies the last three *ślokas* of the 43rd *adhyāya* and the whole of the 44th *adhyāya* of the JS, under the heading of 'The Birth of the *Baṭuka' (baṭukotpattiḥ)*[8], also appears under the same heading in the *Koṭirudrasaṃhitā* of those

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5. Hazra, R.C., "The Problems Relating to the Śivapurāṇa", *Our Heritage,* Vol.1, 1953, pp.46-68.

6. Misra, Jwalaprasad, in his *Aṣṭādaśapurāṇadarpaṇa* produced in 1905 (Khemaraj Shrikrishnadas, Venkateshwara Steam Press, Bombay), mentions that the JS is a part of the *Śivapurāṇa.* See p. 127. I have however not cited this *Saṃhitā* in any editions after 1905.

7. Patni quotes Pandit Ramanatha, who, in the introduction to the Venkateswara Press Edition of the ŚP, questions the authenticity of the *Jñānasaṃhitā* and the *Sanatkumāra Saṃhitās* because they have not been mentioned anywhere in the ŚP except in the Calcutta Edition. This is incorrect because the 1896 edition of the Venkateshwara Press does contain the *Jñānasaṃhitā.* See B. Patni, *Śiva Purāṇa, A Poetic Analysis,* Ajanta Publications, Delhi, 1980, p. 156.

8. *Utpatti* also means 'origin, also rebirth'. R.L. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages,* Oxford University Press, London, 1966, p.83.

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editions of the ŚP that do not contain the JS. The *ślokas* in these two versions are the same but for a few minor variations. Only one *śloka* is significantly different and this I shall discuss later. These two *Saṃhitās* provide evidence of the conflict between the brahmins and the *Devalakas*.

The substance of the myth, which centres on the sage Dadhīci's son *Sudarśana* is the same in both *Saṁhitās*. The *Guravas* regard this myth as being of great importance, as it deals with the origin of their caste and supports their claim to brahminical status.

The *Jñānasaṁhitā* (JS)

The JS consists of 78 *adhyāyas* containing over 4500 verses. It is a text dominated by the theology and the worship of Śiva. Śiva is nominated as *Parabrahma* and symbolised by the letter and the sound *Oṃ*. From him is born *Prakṛti* and from *Prakṛti* are born Brahmā, the creator, Viṣṇu - the maintainer, the goddesses Kāli, Lakṣmī and others. Noticeably in the JS, Rudra, identified with Śiva, is not born of *prakṛti*. The Śiva in the JS is *nirguṇa* (devoid of all properties) and *nirūpa* (formless) and is not easily comprehensible to humans. Hence according to JS 78, 9-10, he assumes the form of Rudra for the good of the world and to facilitate meditation.[9] According to the JS,[10] the best way of worshipping Śiva is in his *liṅga* form, which may be either internal *(ābhyantara)* or external *(bāhya)*. The *ābhyantara liṅga* may be visualised in the mind whereas the external one may be made of gold, silver or precious stones but it is preferable if it is made of clay *(mṛttikā)*. The *bāhya liṅga* is the object of worship and veneration but is also for meditation for those who are embroiled in their karmic routine *(karma-yajña-ratāḥ)* and are as yet many steps away from visualising the internal *liṅga*. A person who has attained *jñāna* does not require any image including the *liṅga*. The JS teaches that out of the three paths to liberation, viz. *Karma-yajña*, *Tapo-yajña* and *Jñāna-yajña*, the last one is the best overall.

The JS is highly tolerant of gods and goodesses other than Śiva and especially has an inclination towards Viṣṇu. Twice, Śiva says :

Viṣṇu resides in my heart and I like only those who do not distinguish between us. (4,62; 5, 17)

Śiva will also send a devotee to hell and reduce all this acquired merits to ashes if the devotee denounces Viṣṇu. (5, 18; 19, 32). The JS accepts the Vedas as the highest

9. *mahādeveti vikhyātaṃ śivāc ca nirguṇādiha /*
tena coktaṃ hyahaṃ rudro bhaviśyāmi kapolataḥ // JS 78, 9
rudro nāma sa vikhyāto lokānugrahakārakaḥ /
dhyānārthe caiva sarveṣāṃ arūpo rūpavānabhūt // JS 78, 10

10. JS 25-28.

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authority in matters of philosophy as well as ritual. It describes Śiva as the embodiment of the three Vedas *(Ṛk-Yajuḥ-Sāmarūpī)* and says that it was Śiva who first imparted the Vedas to Viṣṇu (4, 2-4).

The parts of the JS that are of particular concern to us are the ones that deal with *Jātidharma* or rather the *dharma* according to one's *varṇa*. The injunctions there are categorical and prescriptive. *Śloka* 26, 7 fixes categorically the relationship between one's *Jāti* and the behaviour appropriate to it. The *śloka* reads :

yad yad jātisamuddiṣṭaṃ tat tat karma na laṅghayet /
tataśca tat samutpannaṃ phalaṃ bhavati niścitam //

'one should not transgress the action appropriate to one's *Jāti*, whatever it might be. Because whatever result is produced by it certainly occurs.'

While the word *Jāti* is used, it is the *varṇa* that is implied. This becomes clear from the verses that follow immediately.

In an elaboration of *varṇa* distinctions, the JS prescribes for the worshippers five kinds of *tilaka* marks to be placed on the forehead. The purpose is to distinguish Śiva worshippers from the devotees of Viṣṇu but also to show where they stand in the *varṇa* system.

The verses are :

27, 24 *Tatropaviśya kurvīta tilakaṃ matimān naraḥ /*
tilakaṃ pañcadhā proktaṃ teṣvekaṃ parikalpayet //

After sitting down, the thoughtful man should apply the *tilaka*. One amongst the five types of *tilakas* should be applied.

27, 25 *Tripuṇḍraṃ cordhvapuṇḍraṃ ca hyardhacandraṃ athāpi vā /*
sadṛśaṃ vaṃśapatreṇa pañcamañca nibodhane //

Tripuṇḍra, Urdhvapuṇḍra, Ardhacandra [half moon], and one similar to *Vaṃśapatra* [are the five kinds of *tilakas* instructed].

27, 26 *Puṣpaṃ pārijātasya tenaiva sadṛśaṃ punaḥ /*
tripuṇḍraṃ cordhvapuṇḍraṃ ca śivabhakte viśiśyate //

and one more which is similar to the flower of Pārijāta, the *tripuṇḍra* and *ūrdhvapuṇḍra* are distinguished for Śiva's devotees.

27, 27 *Brahmakṣatraviśāntatra catvāri tilakāni vai /*
ardhacandrastathā śūdrairūrdhvapuṇḍraṃ athāpi vā //

There are four *tilakas* for the brahmins, *kṣatriyas* and *vaiśyas*, similarly, the *ardhacandra* or the *ūrdhvapuṇḍra* by the *śūdras*.

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27, 28 *viṣṇubhaktairviśeṣeṇa tilakaṃ supratiṣṭhitam /*
ūrdhvapuṇḍraṃ tathā cātra vaṃśapatrākṛtiryathā //

For the devotees of Viṣṇu, a well placed *tilaka*,
[It is] either *ūrdhvapuṇḍra* or like the shape of the *vaṃśa* leaf.

The verses prescribe specifically that a *śūdra* is also entitled to the *tilaka* mark. But, if he were an exclusive devotee of Śiva, he should wear the *ardhacandra* to distinguish himself from others. This prescription is reinforced by the statement that the brahmin, *Kṣatriya* and *Vaiśya* have four *tilaka* marks. Barring the *ardhacandra*, these are: *Tripuṇḍra, Ūrdhvapuṇḍra, Vaṁśapatrasadṛśa* and *Pārijātapuṣpasadṛśa*, the last two, the Pārijāta flower and the bamboo leaf, *vaṃśapatra*, being associated with Viṣṇu. A *Śūdra* should wear the *ardhacandra* if he is a Śaivite but may wear the *Ūrdhvapuṇḍra*, a primary mark of Vaiṣṇavites though secondary to Śiva, if he were a devotee of both gods. It is noteworthy that the *Śūdras* and *Vaiṣṇavas* are isolated here from the Śaivites.

About the *tilaka*, the JS further says,

27, 30 If the material for the *tilaka* is not available, water can be used to make a *tilaka* mark as dictated by your *varṇa*. The person should then perform the rituals.

This implies that the *tilaka* is a pre-requisite for rituals.

As befitting a text of śaivite learning, the JS also contains prescriptions on rituals including *pūjās* and their *vidhīs*. Verse 29, 69 mentions the *Gāyatrī mantra* and this is denotative of the acceptance of the Vedas. However, besides the Vedas, the JS also accepts the authority of the Āgamas. Consistent with this, it says that the *pūjā* of Śiva may be performed in many different ways. Thus, Śiva says :

29, 69 *gāyatryāpyathavā vipra nāmabhirvā viśeṣakaiḥ /*
athavāpyāgamoktairvā jaladhārādikaṃ tathā //

By [the chanting] of the *gāyatrī*, brahmin, in conjunction with the recitation of my special names, or else by those names cited in the Āgamas, and [one should perform] by the libation of water [milk, ghee etc.]

Three modes of *abhiṣeka* are enjoined for the brahmin. The first two *pādas* permit it to be performed along with the use of speech. A brahmin may use either the *Gāyatrī mantra* or the special names of Śiva.[11] It should be noted that in the fourth *pāda*, only the

11. It is not clear which *Gāyatrī* is to be used. However, the Vedic *Gāyatrī* being addressed to the savitṛ, it is the *Śivagāyatrī* that must be prescribed here.

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libation is enjoined as a complete act of ritual. Here, the *abhiṣeka* is not accompanied by *mantras*.

Adhyāya JS 29 is about the worship of Śiva. The *ślokas* preceding 29, 69 prescribe in detail how the āgamic *pūjā* is to be performed with various flowers, *Bilva* leaves, fruit etc. This *pūjā* involves *abhiṣeka* as well. *Śloka* 69 is addressed to a brahmin, prescribes *abhiṣeka* separately and permits it to be performed in one of three ways mentioned. So the question is, why should the *abhiṣeka* be mentioned separately from *pūjā* ? This becomes clear if we accept that the context in which the *pūjā* is done is different from when the *abhiṣeka* is to be performed. The *abhiṣeka* may be performed by itself. We may note here that in public, i.e. in presence of non-brahmins, the brahmins in Maharashtra will perform *abhiṣeka* only. They would perform the *pūjā* only for themselves at home and for no others unless the *Yajamāna* is a brahmin. *Abhiṣeka* that involves *mantras* such as the *Gāyatrī, Śatarudrīya, Nāmamantras* and even the *Puruṣasūkta*, is not to be done in front of a *śūdra*.

In sum, in the JS, Śiva is the central subject. While the JS displays a tolerance of the Vedas, Viṣṇu and the authority of the brahmins, its message is directed at the Śaivites. It deals in great detail with the ritual aspects of the worship of Śiva, how the brahmins[12] should perform it, the special rituals of the *Śivarātri* night and day[13] and the merits of donating gold and cows to the performing brahmin priests. It also specifies separately the *pūjā* performed by and for others. In short, the JS deliberately deals with *varṇa* differences in matters of diacritical marks as well as prescriptions of *pūjā*. The fact that at the time of its composition, a marked distinction did exist between the brahmins and others, is demonstrated by the prescription about the *tilakas*. In this context, it may be noted that while the rest of the JS mentions all the four *varṇa*s and details their duties separately, JS 44 is of concern to the brahmin only. It tells him who the *Devalaka* is. As we shall see, the *kṣatriya* king mentioned in that *adhyāya* is in the *mahātmya* to highlight the greatness of the narrative. He is not part of the main narrative itself.

The *Koṭirudrasaṃhitā* (KS)

The *Devalaka* myth, which I recount presently, also appears in the KS. By comparison with the *Jñānasaṃhitā*, the KS is a much smaller work and contains only forty-three

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12. This reference establishes that brahmins did perform Śiva's *pūjā* at the time of the composition of the *Jñānasaṃhitā*.

13. The *Śivarātripūjā* is elaborated in JS 72, 30-100. It may be performed monthly but the *Mahāśivarātrī* happens once a year in the month of *Māgha* (March) on the 13th day *(Trayodaśī)* of the *Kṛṣṇapakṣa*.

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adhyāyas. A large part of it is occupied with the description of the twelve *Jyotirliṅgas* of Śiva and the detailed procedures for his worship, especially on special occasions such as *Śivarātri*.

Locating the JS and KS

Hazra is the only person who has attempted to locate the JS and the KS in time, place and in the context of other Sanskrit works. Admittedly, some of his statements are conjectures. Even though they reflect great learning, they are without adequate texual or extra-texual proof. What is of interest for this paper is that he locates both texts as deriving from South-Western India.

Because of the mention in the JS of North Indian holy places such as Varanasi which it praises, the use of the word *Mahārāja* for a person who is not a king and the praise of the Narmada and Tapti rivers, Hazra came to the conclusion that very likely, the JS was written at Varanasi by someone who originally lived on the banks of the Narmada river. Further, based on a comparison with Kālidāsa's *Kumārasaṃbhava* and *Rughuvaṃśa* and Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya*, from which the *Saṃhitā* borrows, he dated the JS later than 950 A.D.[14] In addition, since the KS consists of chapters mostly identical with the JS and since it mentions the *Śatarudrasaṃhitā* (which Hazra dates no earlier than the 14th century A.D.), the KS is no earlier than the 14th century A.D.

Myth of *Devalaka*

Before I cite from the text of the two *Saṃhitās*, analyse and comment on the significance of the textual placement of the *Devalaka* myth, I summarise very briefly the main story as it appears in the above *Saṃhitās*.

> The famous sage Dadhīci had a son named Sudarśana. Both were devout Śiva worshippers. Once, during Dadhīci's absence, *Śivarātri*, a very special day for Śaivites occurred. Sudarśana performed Śiva's *pūjā* as required but then at night had intercourse with his wife and also dined with her, thereby breaking his fasting that is part of the ritual. Then the next day, without bathing and in an unclean state, he again worshipped Śiva. The god, angered by this, cursed him and made him fall into a faint. When he came to know of the curse, Dadhīci prayed to Pārvatī who then pleaded with Śiva on behalf of Dadhīci and Sudarśana. Śiva not only relented but also gave Sudarśana and his progeny the first right to his *pūjā* in perpetuity. However, he took away their right to vedic *mantras*, thereby, in effect, degrading them, albeit by implication, to the *śūdra varṇa*.

14. Hazra, *op. cit.*

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III

JS : Text and Translation of JS-44

I reproduce below the last three *ślokas* of the forty-third *adhyāya* and the entire forty-fourth *adhyāya* of the JS along with my translation.[15] I also reproduce the only *śloka* of the thirteenth *adhyāya* of the KS which is significantly different from its counterpart in the JS and which is relevant to my analysis. The three *ślokas* of the forty-third *adhyāya* form a link which leads to the Sudarśana-*Devalaka* narrative contained in the forty-fourth *adhyāya*. The manner of thinking is in line with the rest of the JS *adhyāya* endings.

I may note *a priori* that the language used in the forty-third and forty-fourth *adhyāya*s of the JS is similar to the loose style of Purāṇic Sanskrit which often neglects prosodic rules and grammatical purity.

Jñānasaṃhitā 43, 24-26 and 44

43,24 *paradravyābhilāṣena śivamārādhayenna tu /*
vṛttyarthaṃ pūjayeddevaṃ lokasya hitakārakaḥ //

25 *ṣaṇmāsayo dvijaścaiva sa vai devalakaḥ smṛtaḥ /*
yathā devalakaścaiva tathā so vai bhavediha //

26 *devalakaśca yaḥ prokto nādhikāre dvijasya ca /*
ityeva vacanaṃ śrutvā ṛṣayaśca vaco'bravan //

This is the forty-third *adhyāya* of the *Jñānasaṃhitā* of the *Śivamahāpurāṇa* entitled *Andhakeśvaramāhātmya.*

ṛṣayaḥ ūcuḥ

44.1 *devalakaśca yaḥ prokto kiṃ kāryaṃ tasya vidyate /*

sūta uvāca

dadhīcirnāma vipro vai dharmiṣṭho vedapāragaḥ //

2 *śivabhaktirato nityaṃ śivaśāstraparāyaṇaḥ /*
yajñādikarmakartā ca nityanaimittakārakaḥ //

3 *tasya putrastathā hyasīnnāmnā sudarśanaḥ smṛtaḥ /*
tasya bhāryā ca duṣkalpā nāmnā duṣṭakulodbhavā //

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15. No English translation of the JS and KS is as yet available. I thank Dr. Gred Bailey for many helpful hints in the course of this translation.

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4 *tadvaśe sa ca bhartāsīt tasyāḥ putracatuṣṭayam /*
so'pi nityaṃ śivasyaiva pūjāṃ caiva karotyasau //

5 *dadhicistu yathāpūrvaṃ ṛṣayo brāhmaṇaḥ sutaḥ /*
tathā ca śivapūjāyāṃ nityakarmaparāyaṇaḥ //

6 *yathākarmapravaktā ca tathā kartā ca kārakaḥ /*
evañjāte tadākāle tasyaiva ṛṣisattamāḥ //

7 *viparītaṃ tadā tasya daivāccaivābhavat tadā /*
yajjātaṃ śrūyatāṃ śreṣṭhāḥ kathayāmi yathā śrutam //

8 *dadhicistu tadā hyāsīt grāmāntaram athāpi ha /*
jñātisaṃyogataścaiva jñātibhir na samocitaḥ //

9 *kathayitvā ca putraṃ sa śivabhaktiparo bhava /*
ityuktvā tu gataḥ so'pi putraścāpi tathākarot //

10 *evaṃ ca śivarātriśca hyāgatā ṛṣisattamāḥ /*
tasyāṃ upoṣitāḥ sarve svayaṃ saṃyogatastadā //

11 *pūjāṃ kṛtvā tataḥ so'pi sudarśana iti śrutaḥ /*
tadā rātrau ca strīsaṅgaṃ kṛtvā punarihāgataḥ //

12 *na snātaṃ ca tadā tena kṛtā pūjā mahātmanaḥ /*
paścāt sa ca tadā prātarjaḍatvaṃ prāptavān kṣaṇāt //

13 *śivarātryāṃ tvayā duṣṭa sevanaṃ ca striyaḥ kṛtaṃ /*
asnātaśca madīyāṃ tvaṃ pūjāṃ ca kṛtavānstadā //

14 *jñātvā caiva kṛtaṃ yasmāttasmāttvaṃ jaḍatāṃ vraja /*
mā spṛśa tvaṃ ca pāpiṣṭha darśanaṃ dūrataḥ kuru //

15 *ityuktastu tathā jāto yathoktaṃ śaṅkareṇa ca /*
dvijo'pi sa samāyāto vṛttāntaṃ śrutavānstadā //

16 *duḥkhitastu tadā so'pi śivena paribhartsitaḥ /*
hā hato'smīti duḥkhena kuputreṇa kulaṃ hataṃ //

17 *etasmin samaye tasya bhāryā sudarśanasya ca /*
mṛtā yayā ca patitaḥ so'tyantaṃ duḥkhamāgataḥ //

18 *pitā ca duḥkhitaḥ so'pi śivena paribhartsitaḥ /*
santoṣya ca śivaṃ so'pi śivapūjāṃ tadākarot //

19 *putro'pi ca tadā bhāryāṃ puṅścalīṃ kṛtavānstadā /*
pitrāpi girijā tatra pūjitā putrahetave //

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20 *prasannā sā tadā devī putraṃ aṅgīcakāra ha /*
sudarśano'pi girijāṃ pūjayāmāsa ca svayaṃ //

21 *caṇḍīṃ pūjanamārgeṇa prasannāṃ akarottadā /*
sudarśanaṃ ca putratve cakāra girijā tadā //

22 *śivaṃ prasādayāmāsa putrārthe caṇḍikā svayam /*
kṛtvā kṛtvā punaścaṇḍī prasannaṃ vṛṣabhadhvajam //

23 *namaskṛtya śivam tatra hyutsaṅge saṃnyaveśayat /*
ghṛtasnānaṃ tadā cakre putrasya girijā svayam //

24 *trirāvṛttopavītaṃ ca granthinaikena saṃyutam /*
upadiśya śivagāyatrīṃ ṣoḍaśākṣarasaṃyutām //

25 *oṃ namaḥ śivāyaiva śrīśabdapūrvakāya ca /*
vārān ṣoḍaśa saṅkalpya pūjāṃ kuryādayaṃ baṭuḥ //

26 *jalādinamaskārāntaṃ pūjayet vṛṣabhadhvajam /*
mantravāditrapūjābhiḥ sannidhāvṛṣiṇāṃ tadā //

27 *nāmamantrānanekāṅśca pāṭhayāmāsa vai tadā /*
tannimittaṃ ca yat kiñcit tatsarvaṃ tu tathaiva ca //

28 *dhānyaṃ phalaṃ ca vastraṃ ca ghṛtaṃ tailaṃ bhavecca yat /*
tattatsarvaṃ tvayā grāhyaṃ na doṣāya bhavet punaḥ //

29 *mama kṛtye bhavānmukhyo devīkṛtye viśeṣataḥ /*
prājāpatyaṃ bhavedyarhi tarhyeko'pi bhavān bhavet //

30 *yadi bhavānna pūjyeta tat sarvaṃ niṣphalaṃ bhavet /*
tadā pūjā ca sampūrṇā yadastu ca bhavān vadet //

31 *catvāro baṭukāstasya sudarśanamahātmanaḥ /*
abhiṣiktāśca te dikṣu śivena paramātmanā //

32 *tilakaṃ vartulaṃ kāryaṃ snānaṃ kāryaṃ sadā śubhaiḥ /*
śivasandhyā ca kartavyā gāyatrī ca tadīyakā //

33 *matsevāṃ caiva kṛtvā tu kāryamanyat kulocitam /*
vedamantro na vācyo vai mantrāśca bhavadīyakāḥ //

34 *caṇḍī caivatha caṇḍaśca putraṃ sthāpya sudarśanam /*
tatputrān prerayāmāsa varān dattvā hyanekaśaḥ //

35 *ubhayorvyūhayoryatra baṭuko vai bhaven mama /*
tatra syādvijayo nityaṃ nātra kāryā vicāraṇā //

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36 *bhavān vai pūjito yena tenāhaṃ ca prapūjitaḥ /*
evaṃ varaṃ tadā dattvā vedabrahmavivarjitam //

37 *kartavyaṃ ca bhavadbhiśca svīyaṃ karma sadā ca yat /*
śivābhyāṃ sthāpitā yasmāttasmātte baṭukāḥ smṛtāḥ //

38 *tapobhṛṣṭā yato jātāstasmāttapodhamā matāḥ /*
śivayoḥ kṛpayā sarve vistāraṃ bahudhā gatāḥ //

39 *teṣāṃ ca prathamā pūjā tataḥ pūjā mahātmanaḥ /*
tena yāvat kṛtā naiva pūjā ca śaṅkarasya ca //

40 *tāvat pūjā na kartavyā śivasya vacanādiha /*
śubhaṃ vāpyaśubhaṃ vāpi baṭukaṃ na parityajet //

41 *prājāpatye ca bhojye ca baṭureko viśiṣyate /*
śivayośca tathā kārye viśeṣo dṛśyate tviha //

42 *tasyaiva nagare rājño bhadrasya nityabhojane /*
niyame prājāpatyasya hyandhakeśasamīpataḥ //

43 *yajjātaṃ śrūyatāṃ tacca kathayāmi yathāśrutam /*
dhvaja ekaśca rājño vai dattaśca śaṅkareṇa ca //

44 *prātaśca badhyatāṃ rājan rātrau caiva patiṣyati /*
mama kṛtye ca saṃpūrṇe prājāpatye tathā punaḥ //

45 *anyathā cettadā tatra rātrāveva sthiro bhavet /*
iti niyamastasyāsīcchivapūjāvidhānataḥ //

46 *prājāpatyaṃ tataścaiva kartavyaṃ ca dine dine /*
prātar dhvajo nibadhyeta svayaṃ caiva patediti //

47 *yadi kāryaṃ ca saṃpūrṇam jātaṃ caiva bhavediha /*
anyathā na patatyeva tathaiva tiṣṭhati dhruvam //

48 *ekasmin samaye cātra baṭoḥ kāryaṃ tathā hyabhūt /*
rājñā ca bhojayitvā tu preṣito baṭureva ca //

49 *abhojiteṣu vipreṣu dhvajaśca patito hyabhūt /*
dṛṣṭvā tacca tadā tatra pṛṣṭaṃ rājñā kathaṃ dhvajaḥ //

50 *patito brāhmaṇāḥ yatra bhuñjate notthitā iti /*
kathaṃ nipatitaścātra brāhmaṇāḥ satyavādināḥ //

51 *te pṛṣṭāśca tadā procurbaṭuko bhojitaḥ purā /*
caṇḍīputraḥ śivasyaiva tasmācca patito dhvajaḥ //

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52 *evaṃ ca mahimā teṣāṃ vardhito śaṅkareṇa ca /*
tasmācca baṭukāḥ śreṣṭhāḥ purāvidbhiḥ prakīrtitāḥ //

53 *śivapūjā tu taiḥ pūrvaṃ kartavyā sarvataḥ śubhā /*
uttāraṇaṃ ca pujāyāḥ pūjā pūrṇā bhavatviti //

54 *etāvadeva teṣāṃ tu kāryaṃ nānyattathaiva ca /*
etatsarvaṃ samākhyātaṃ yatpṛṣṭaṃ ca munīśvarāḥ /
yat śrutvā śivapūjāyāḥ phalaṃ tu labhate naraḥ //

***Jñānasaṃhitā* 43 and 44 : Translation**

43, 24-25 'The man who acts beneficially for the continuity of the world should worship the god Śiva. But he should not propitiate Śiva with a desire for the wealth of others. The brahmin who does this for six months is certainly called a *Devalaka*. Since he is called a *Devalaka*, he now definitely becomes one.

26 Yet whoever is termed *Devalaka*, does not have the ritual prerogative of the brahmin.' Having heard this statement, the sages made the speech.

The *ṛṣis* said :

44 1 What is the duty of him who is called a *Devalaka* ? The *sūta* said: There was a brahmin named Dadhīci who was firmly grounded in the law and well versed in the Vedas.

2 He was ever engrossed in the worship of Śiva, he was an expert in the *Śivaśāstras*, regularly performed his daily rituals and he performed sacrifices and similar rituals.

3 Because his son was similar he was traditionally known as Sudarśana. But he had a wife named Duṣkalpā,[16] so named because she had been born in a bad family.

4 Her husband was under her control and she had four sons. Even so, he definitely performed the daily worship of Śiva.

5 But Sages! Just as before, Dadhīci, the son of Brahmā, was presently engrossed in the daily rituals in the worship of Śiva.

6 Excellent Sages ! He was the pronouncer of the ritual, its performer and the instrument for its completion. When time had passed for him in this way.

16. She is also called Duṣkulā, i.e., from a bad lineage.

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7 due to fate, something quite perverse happended to him. Excellent Sages ! Listen to what happened. I shall tell you as I heard it.

8 At that very time, Dadhīci was at another village because of a meeting with his kinsmen, but his kinsmen would not let him go.

9 He had said to his son, "You must occupy yourself with devotion to Śiva". After saying this, he had left and his son too did just what he had said.

10 And that being so, Excellent Sages, *Śivarātri* came. On that day, they all fasted voluntarily together.

11 It was heard that Sudarśana too, after having performed the ritual and then having had sex with his wife on the same night, returned here.

12 He had not bathed then, yet he performed the ritual of the great Śiva. After that, in the morning, he immediately became lifeless.

13 [Śiva said] "You wretched man! You had sex with a woman on *Śivarātri* day, then without bathing you performed my worship.

14 In addition, since you did this knowingly, therefore, you must become lifeless. Evil man! do not touch me. Look at me only from a distance."

15 When spoken to like this, it happened just as Śiva had said. The brahmin too on his return heard what had happended.

16 Though severely pained, he too was rebuked by Śiva. Then speaking with difficulty, he said, "I am devastated by this grief. My family has been destroyed by my bad son."

17 At this time, Sudarśana's wife died. Though disgraced by her, he still experienced tremendous pain.

18 His father also, who had been rebuked by Śiva, remained severely pained. Even so, he satisfied Śiva and then performed Śiva's *pūjā*.

19 At the same time, the son too held his wife to be an immoral woman, whilst the father worshipped Girijā for the sake of his son.

20 The goddess was pleased, and gave assent to Dadhīci's son. Sudarśana himself also worshipped Girijā.

21 Then, by virtue of his worship, he pleased Caṇḍī. As a result, Girijā then accepted Sudarśana as her son.

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22 For the sake of her son, Caṇḍikā herself propitiated Śiva. After Caṇḍī repeatedly pleased Śiva, who has a bull on his banner,

23 and bowed to Śiva, Girijā made Sudarśana sit in her lap. She herself then bathed her son in ghee.

24 Having then prescribed the sacred thread which had three stands and a single knot, and the sixteen-lettered Śiva-Gāyatrī *mantra*,

25 she also instructed him that he, the *baṭu*, after making the ritual resolve, *om namaḥ śivāya* preceded by the word *śrī* sixteen times, should perform Śiva's *pūjā*.[17]

26 He should worship the bull-bannered god with water in the beginning and the act of obeisance with rituals, music and *mantras* at the end in the presence of sages.

27 Then she had him recite several *mantras* dealing with the recitation of Śiva's name, whatever was related to it and everything else that was appropriate.

28 (Śiva said) "There will be grain, fruit, cloth, ghee and oil (offered to Śiva). You should take all of that. There is no fault in it.

29 You are the main priest in the performance of my rituals, but especially in the performance of Devī's rituals. Whenever there is a Prājāpatya (sacrifice)[18], one of you must be present.

30 If you are not honoured, everything will be without result. And the ritual is complete when you give your assent".

31 His four *baṭukas* were consecrated in the four directions by the supreme Śiva.

32 "Those who are auspicious, should always bathe and put on a round *tilaka* mark. Perform the *Śivasandhyā* and your *Gāyatrī* recitation.

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17. An alternative translation would be: on making the ritual resolve on 16 days, the *baṭu* should perform Śiva's *pūjā* after chanting the *mantra 'oṃ namaḥ śivāya'*, preceded by the word *śrī*.

18. The *prājāpatya* is a *vrata* to be performed by a sacrificer during which he does not see the rising or setting sun. The *prājāpatya homa* refers to the *Śatarudriya homa* and contains the origin myth as in the *Puruṣa-sūkta* and the birth of Rudra. The significance of this *vrata* for a temple priest is unclear and not mentioned. See P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. 5, Part 2, p. 1234.

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33 Having first performed my worship, and such other things as appropriate for your *kula*, your *mantras* should be recited, not the Vedic *mantra*."

34 Then Caṇḍa and Caṇḍī confirmed Sudarśana as their son. Śiva directed[19] his [Sudarśana's] sons after giving them many boons.

35 "Where my *baṭuka* stands in the fight amongst two sides, victory will always be there. Entertain no doubt about that.

36 If someone worships you, I too am worshipped." Having given them that boon, which deprived them of Vedic and brahminic rituals, [Śiva said],

37 "You should constantly perform your own ritual." Because they have been appointed by Śiva and Śivā, they are traditionally called *baṭukas*.

38 Because they had fallen away from austerities (*tapas*), they were regarded as being low in austerities *(Tapodhamāḥ)*. Through Śiva and Śivā's favour, they all increased in number.

39 Their *pūjā* is first and then comes the *pūjā* of the great Śiva. Until he, the *baṭuka*, has not performed the *pūjā* of Śaṅkara.

40 By Śiva's decree, no *pūjā* should be performed here (by others). Whether he be auspicious or inauspicious, the *baṭuka* should not be ignored.

41 At the Prājāpatya observance and in a feast, one *baṭu* should remain. Similarly, this should be especially observed on an occasion important to Śiva and Śivā.

42 In a city of king Bhadra, located near Andhakeśa, a Prājāpatya vow was performed during the daily feast.

43 Listen to what happened. I shall tell you as I heard it. The king was given a pennant by Śaṅkara.

44 Śiva said, "Oh King ! If the pennant is raised at the *pūjā* in the morning, it will only fall at night if the performance of the task appropriate to me and also of the Prājāpatya has been completed satisfactorily.

45 If it is otherwise, then, the pennant will remain quite still there during the night." Such was his stipulation concerning the execution of Śiva's *pūjā*.

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19. There is an ambiguity here. If Śiva and Caṇḍī both confirmed Sudarśana as their son, the *prerayāmāsa* in the second line should be a dual, *prerayāmāsatuḥ*. The inference is that Śiva played no part in the adoption ritual.

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46 "You should therefore perform the *Prājāpatya* every day. The pennant should be fastened in the morning and it will fall on its own account,

47 if my rituals are completed in this way. Otherwise, it will not fall and will stand forever".

48 One day, there was a job for the *baṭu*. And the king fed him and sent the *baṭu* away.

49 When the brahmins had not completed eating, the pennant fell to the ground. Having seen that, the king asked why the flag

50 had fallen, when the brahmins were still eating and had not got up". Truthful brahmins !

51 why has the banner fallen now. When asked, they replied, "you fed the *baṭuka*, son of Śiva and Caṇḍī, first, and that is why the pennant has fallen".

52 This is their greatness which has been augmented by Śaṅkara himself. Therefore the *baṭukas* are celebrated or called the best by those who know the past.

53 The auspicious *pūjā* of Śiva should always be performed by them first as well as the *uttāraṇa*[20] of the *pūjā*. This way the *pūjā* must become complete.

54 Just that much must be done by them and nothing else at all. Everything that was asked has been narrated. On hearing this, a man gains the same result as by performing Śiva's *pūjā*.

This is the forty-fourth *adhyāya* of the *Jñānasaṁhitā* of the *Śivamahāpurāṇa*.

Divergence between the JS and the KS

There is only one *śloka* (13, 55) of the story in the *Koṭirudrasaṁhitā* which differs significantly from its equivalent in the JS. The JS *śloka*, 44, 36, reads :

Śiva uvāca :

bhavān vai pūjito yena tenāhaṃ ca prapūjitaḥ /
evaṃ varaṃ tadā dattvā vedabrahmavivarjitam //

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20. The *uttāraṇa* or the *uttarapūjā* is the ritual performed at the end of the *pūjā* to bid farewell to the invoked gods.

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> "If someone worships you, I too am worshipped". Having given them that boon, which deprived them of Vedic and brahminic rituals, [Śiva said],

On the other hand, KS 13, 55 says :

Devī uvāca :

> *bhavāṅśca pūjito yena tenāham ca prapūjitaḥ /*
> *kartavyaṃ hi bhavādbhiśca svīyakarma sadā suta //*

> The goddess said : "If someone worships you, then I too am worshipped. Son ! You should always perform your own duties."

The first *pādas* are virtually the same in both versions but there is a remarkable divergence in the second set of *pādas*. While the JS version takes away the diacritical marks of brahminhood, namely, the rights to study the Veda and to perform attendant rituals, the KS only enjoins the addressee to do 'your duties', whatever they may be. By denying access to the Veda, the JS puts *Devalakas* into the *śūdravarṇa*, since the other three *varṇas* have access to the Veda. JS 44, 32-33 also suggest that the *Devalakas* should only perform the *Śivasandhyā* and recite the *Śivagāyatrī mantra* and not perform the brahminic *trikāla sandhyā*, nor recite the *Brahmagāyatrī mantra*.

Some other observations can be made about these differences. In the JS, it is Śiva who speaks whereas in the KS, it is Devī. The second line of the JS describes an action in the narrative whereas the second line of the KS is a statement that is a command. The KS removes the ban on the *Devalaka* and enjoins him to perform his duties. It makes no statement about his *varṇa*. The *Devalaka*'s duties have not been specified and the statement is particularly silent about the right to the Veda. In replicating most of the *ślokas* from the JS, it seems the KS is responding to the prohibition of the Vedic rights in the JS by leaving the problem of the resolution of the status to the *Devalaka* himself. It is as if the *Devalaka* must decide what he should do. We can assume from this that the duties of the *Devalaka* were traditionally known by this time, meaning that the text assumes its audience will know what *svīyakarma* means. If, as I argue, we accept that the KS is later than the JS, this attitude of the KS is consonant with the notion of *paramparā* according to which an earlier statement is not to be negated but if need be, re-interpreted. The KS's silence on *Vedamantra* is therefore deliberate. Further, as Śiva has a higher status than Devī in the ŚP, a statement attributed to Śiva would not be violated by Devī. It can however be circumvented through ambiguity.

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IV

Narrative Analysis of JS, 43-44

The JS can be analysed on three separate, though interrelated levels pertaining to narrative, content and language. Each interacts to establish a particular meaning for the text. First I examine the narrative structure, focussing on the manner in which the story is told, the order in which the events unfold, how many characters are referred to in the text and how many of them participate directly in the telling of the story. Secondly, I analyse the contents by locating an implicit tripartite structure in the plot. In this, I have found Van Gennep's[21] notion of the construction of the rites of passage very useful, although one should be aware that the story goes beyond the life cycle rites of passage. The third level concerns language. Linguistically, the JS is interesting largely in terms of its peculiarities. Hazra did do a grammatical and linguistic analysis of the JS,[22] though this really consisted of drawing comparisons between the text and *kāvya* passages. Here I examine the use of particles in JS, 43-44 to see if the usage is inordinately large. Particles are of course common in purāṇic literature, however, in JS, 43-44, their frequency is noticeable and hence may suggest *a priori* that a particular meaning may have been intended.

Narrative Structure

The narrative is split into two *adhyāyas*, namely, the last three *ślokas* of 43 and the whole of 44.

JS 43, 24-26 are the start of a discourse by the *sūta* to the *ṛṣis* but the implicit listeners are the brahmins.

The narrative structure of JS 44 is more complex. *Ślokas* 1-6 provide the background to the story. It contains four active and one passive characters. At the start, the *ṛṣis* want to know about the *Devalaka*. The *sūta*, the overall narrator of JS 44, responds to them by telling the story. He introduces three characters, namely Dadhīci, Sudarśana and Duṣkulā. Whilst Dadhīci and Sudarśana are direct participants in the events that unfold, Duṣkulā is passive and is the cause of the downfall of Sudarśana (invested with *kārya-kāraṇa-saṁbandha*). *Ślokas* 7-11 are devoted to the two events that take place chronologically, namely, Dadhīci's departure from the place of the event and Sudarśana's commission of the

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21. Gennep, Arnold, van., *The Rites of Passage,* (Trans. Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle I. Caffee), University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1960, pp. 18, 105, 106, 191.

22. Hazra's article, cited above, contains no analysis either of the grammatical or of the linguistic usage.

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sin. It is the second event that is central to the story. *Ślokas* 12-17 describe the consequences *(phala)* of the second event. In this portion of the text, four separate events occur. First, Sudarśana becomes lifeless. Next, Śiva appears, defines Sudarśana's wrong doing and curses him. Third, Dadhīci returns and is repentant and fourth, Duṣkulā dies. Whilst she is the immediate cause and is therefore punished with death, she is otherwise the passive instrument *(nimittam)* which causes the story to happen. On the other hand, she is also the deeper cause of the story, in that the event could not have taken place without her agency. The logic here is not unlike the *kākatālīya nyāyaḥ*. Although said to control her husband, Duṣkulā submits passively to him. For good measure, she is described as coming from a bad *kula* but this is also a passive characteristic of her. In short, there is no action performed on her part that would make her either the cause of the *pāpam* or of a *doṣa*. One might even say that she was the *nirmitam*, i.e., the destined (object oriented) cause of the story of the fall of Sudarśana and his rehabilitation.

Ślokas 13 and 14 describe the fierce aspect of Śiva and it is Girijā, rather than Sudarśana or Dadhīci who assuages the rage of Śiva.

Śloka 18 stands by itself in that it depicts Dadhīci's sorrowful state of mind and his propitiation of Śiva. By contrast, in *śloka* 19, Sudarśana absolves himself by blaming his wife *(pūmścalīkṛtavān)*. Other events are Dadhīci's worship and Girijā's appearance in the narrative. One notes here that it is she and not Śiva who takes the primary action to absolve Sudarśana from the sin. There is also another explanation as to why Sudarśana worships Devī and not Śiva. It is because in *śloka* 44, 14, he is prohibited by Śiva from doing that. In fact, being asked to view Śiva only from a distance, he has been degraded to the status of a *śūdra*.

In *ślokas* 20-24, Girijā (Caṇḍī, Caṇḍikā) is the main actor. She takes Sudarśana as her son. This action being so crucial to the narrative, it is repeated in *ślokas* 20 and 21. *Ślokas* 23 and 24 are about the ritual adoption by Girijā of Sudarśana as her son. The next four *ślokas*, 25-28, mainly involve the rehabilitation of Sudarśana. These may be termed eventful in that they have important consequences for Sudarśana as *Devalaka*.

Śiva is the main actor in *ślokas* 29-37 where he instructs Sudarśana and prescribes the activities for his progeny, the *baṭukas*. It is noteworthy that Dadhīci does not appear in the rehabilitation as he has not transgressed in any way. *Śloka* 38 onwards is a *māhātmya*. Whilst the main characters disappear, the *sūta* goes on to tell the story of a king and his treatment in the correct manner of the progeny of Sudarśana. The event described there about the fall of the pennant and the performance of *prājāpatya* do not have much to do with the main story, apart from affirming the right of the *Devalaka* to the performance of the first ritual. The closing *ślokas* simply reinforce the primacy of the *baṭus* over the brahmins in *pūjā* which in a sense is the main purpose of the ancillary story.

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The Structure of Content :

At this stage, one may recall Van Gennep's proposition about the basic structure of the rights of passage. We may now see the structure of the main story in these terms. Reduced to its bare bones, it concerns Sudarśana and what happens to him. Initially, he commits a sin against Śiva, next he is punished for it. After expiation, he is rehabilitated but not to the original status of a brahmin but that of a *Devalaka*. The story seen in this way parallels a rite of passage although it is not concerned with life cycle changes.

An initial status is described in *ślokas* 3-10, a status position violated when Sudarśana commits a sin. Thereby as in *ślokas* 11-15, Sudarśana enters a liminal state, represented physically by his act of falling into a faint. The faint is described as *jaḍatva* which translates as 'motionlessness, senselessness, paralysis or being stunned.'[23] Within the structure of the narrative, it is equivalent to being without status. This explains why the action taken to restore Sudarśana to a state of consciousness is initiated not by him but by his father. Only then does Sudarśana become alive enough to blame his wife. Thus he absolves himself from his own sin by pleading the absence of *mens rea*.

His object of worship is first Girijā, the mediator between Sudarśana and Śiva. By having a mediator, Śiva still keeps Sudarśana disconnected from himself, as expressed by two actions of the god before the expiation. First he forbids Sudarśana from touching him. This would mean no *pūjā* nor *abhiṣeka* may be performed by Sudarśana, as these involve a surrogate form of touching. Prohibition of touch by itself leaves Sudarśana no avenue to contact Śiva. The second statement creates a distance between him and Sudarśana but simultaneously opens up the way for the latter to approach the god. Even so, Sudarśana must use Pārvatī as the mediator. The state of liminality ends here.

Structurally speaking, it is Pārvatī who rehabilitates Sudarśana by performing the adoption ritual. It is she who communicates with Śiva making a plea on behalf of her son. Just as it was Duṣkulā who caused the fall away from the status, so by way of symmetry, it is a woman who brings him back to the status. Only then does Śiva establish direct communication with Sudarśana. In these parleys, the rehabilitation that is achieved is decidedly not of the original status but a new lower one. Moreover, the initial devotee, Dadhīci, who worships Śiva directly, is conspicuously absent from now on, since he has committed no sin and needs no forgiveness. This absence may also be because Dadhīci, the arch brāhmin, should not be allowed to lose his brahminic identity. Just as Girijā stands as a mediator between Sudarśana and Śiva, so does Dadhīci initially, but thereafter he is

23. Williams Monier, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1986, [First published, 1899].

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absent. Neither Sudarśana nor the *baṭukas* are described as being part of his lineage. It is not the original *baṭu*, namely Sudarśana, but his *baṭukas* (suffix *ka* denoting diminution) who are the recipients of the main gift, namely, primacy over brahmins at ritual meals.

The main purpose of the story is to explain the existing low status of the *Devalaka*. This low status is signalled at the very start in the last three *ślokas* of JS 43. A new status is achieved by tripartite ritual, namely extinction of the old status, i.e., that of a brāhmin, the liminality and the rise of a new status. Two ritual actions undertaken by the mediators on both sides, namely, expression of regret and worship by Dadhīci, and Girijā's compassion and intercession with Śiva, are the necessary requisites for exit from the liminal phase. The new status that is spelled out in great detail in 44, 24-36 separates the *baṭuka* from the brāhmins. That the new status is ambivalent in its elaboration highlights its difference from the initial one.

The one life cycle ritual in the story concerns adoption, the defining action of which is 'the taking of the adoptive child in the lap by the mother.'[24] Other activities in adoption ritual, not mentioned in JS 44, are propitiation of various gods, especially Viṣṇu, asking the original father for the gift of the child etc. In the adoption ritual also, the tripartite structure is present, if we take that Dadhici's *pūjā* is to be interpreted as *putradānam*. Otherwise, he has no function in this ritual part of the story. The transition from liminality is signified by Sudarśana's performance of a *pūjā* for Śiva and Śivā. The end of the liminal phase itself is signified by Sudarśana sitting in Girijā's lap (he is now an infant) and the new status is signified by the acceptance both by Girijā and Śiva of Sudarśana as a *baṭu*, who may now undertake religious duties.

Linguistic Structure :

The language and grammar of JS 43 and 44 are similar to what is found elsewhere in the ritual sections of the Purāṇas except for the high frequency of the use of particles. Particles are usually employed contextually but also to meet the requirements of the metre. The JS is no exception to this. Since we are concerned with the uniqueness of *adhyāya* 44, one way of examining it is through the frequency of the use of particles. I have therefore looked at the usage in *adhyāyas* JS 42, 43 and 45, the proximate *adhyāyas*, and compared them with JS 44.

The particles *iva, iti, tu, vai, va, tad* and *hi* appear too infrequently in JS 44 to warrant an explanation. On the other hand, *ca, eva and api* recur often enough in this *adhyāya* to

24. Joshi Pandit Mahadevashastri, *Bhāratīya Saṁskṛtikoṣa*, Bhāratīya Sanskṛtikoṣa Maṇḍala, 1988, Pune, Vol. IV, p. 275.

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warrant an examination as to whether there is a discernible pattern in their usage. When I compared JS 44 with its proximates JS 42, 43 and 45, I obtained the following results :

The following numbers represent the average usage per *śloka*.

The particle *ca* is used 1.03 times in JS 42, 1.04 times in JS 43 and 1.33 times in JS 45. In JS 44, it is used 1.40 times. The particle *api* is used 0.08 times in JS 42, 0.15 times in JS 43 and 0.12 times in JS 45. In JS 44 it is used 0.20 times. The particle *eva* is used 0.43 times in JS 42, 0.15 times in JS 43 and 0.29 times in JS 45. In JS 44, it is used 0.33 times.

The use of *ca* in JS 42 and 43 is almost identical but it is different from JS 44 and 45 where the usage is very high. In the use of *api*, the usage is similar between JS 43 and 45 and different from JS 42 and 44. On the other hand, in the use of *eva*, all *adhyāyas* differ significantly. We can therefore say that JS 44 is different from JS 42, 43 and 45 in that it shows the highest use of the particles *ca* and *api*. The conclusion that can be drawn is that JS 44 stands alone in its frequent use of *ca* and *api* particles.

It may be argued a *priori* that the use of particles is an attempt at achieving precision and even implicit meanings. But the particles indicating precision are mainly *tu*, *hi* and *vai* which are too infrequent to warrant a general statement of their significance in JS 44. The total use of *ca*, the more profuse particle in the text illustrates this.

Of the total use of 1.40 times per *śloka*, only 0.245 times it is grammatically warranted or adds to the meaning. By contrast, 0.849 times *ca* is superfluous. Of the total use of *api* 0.23 times, only 0.09 times it is necessary. By contrast, 0.14 times it is used unnecessarily. In short, one may conclude that there is neither precision nor meaning in the uses of particles.

The high frequency in the use of concessive and emphatic particles is a sign that the authors were ambivalent about the content. These particles communicate tension between arguing for a higher status and what the real status at the time must have been. Although particles in Sanskrit are often used to create precision, in this case they seem to be communicating uncertainty.

V

The Authorship of the JS

In view of the present day hostility of the *Marāṭhī* brahmins towards the Guravas, it is worth seeing if a similar attitude prevails in the JS. If the attitudes are similar, one may ask - might it also have been the case that the text was composed by a brāhmin or even a

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Marāṭhī brahmin. First, we need to examine the content of the JS with respect to Vedic orthodoxy, *Āgamic* worship and *Tantric vidhis* as this will show its adherence or otherwise to brahminic orthodoxy. While the outcome of the observance of Vedic rituals is the maintenance of cosmic order, the *Āgamic* worship results in achievements of the goals defined by the four *puruṣārthas*. The tantric *vidhi* on the other hand involves a manipulation of the deity in order to achieve a desired outcome.[25] It is a *kāmya vidhi*. In terms of the evaluation of ritual pursuits, I point out again that the JS acknowledges the supremacy of the Vedas. JS 26 lists the hierarchy of rituals as well as the forms of worship, namely, *karma, tapa, japa, dhyāna* and *jñāna* in which the last one is the highest. JS 27 provides detailed instructions for *pūjā*, including purification of self prior to undertaking it, as well as all the subsequent *upacāras* (manipulations). These instructions are in accordance with the Āgamas. Although verse 28, 6 permits a devotee to use Vedic *mantras*, taken as a whole, the JS prescribes Āgamic worship. Verse 28, 6 also prescribes recitation of the names of Śiva and the use of one's own *mantras*.[26] In 28.6, a *śūdra* is implied when it enjoins the use of one's own *mantras*.[27] This is also true for *nāmamantras*.

We may recall here that, not unlike the other *purāṇas*, the author of the JS also acknowledges, without reviling them, the validity of the *varṇa* system as well as the existence of Vaiṣṇavites. The text makes overt efforts to reconcile the differences between the Śaivite

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25. While scholars normally include Tantras in the Āgamas, the analysis here is better served by distinguishing between the two. *Ślokas* 29, 15 and 16 are the only verses which involve tantric manipulation of Śiva. These read :

    ucchāṭaṇārthaṃ śatrūṇāṃ tathaiva pūjanaṃ hareḥ /
    māraṇe caturlakṣeṇa mohane tu tadārdhakam // 29, 15

    The *pūja* of Hara is for the destruction of enemies, killing them in 400,000 ways and for deluding of the enemy by half those ways.

    sāmantavijaye caiva koṭipūjā praśasyate /
    vaśīkaraṇe tathā rājñām ayutam ca praśasyate // 29, 16

    And for the victory over the feudators, ten million *pūjās* are prescribed. To bring the king into one's power, 100 million *pūjās* are prescribed.

    The above verses specifically place the purpose at the beginning of the verse before the specific outcome that is desired. Also, the terms *vaśīkaraṇa, māraṇa* and *mohana* are indicative of attempts to influence the deity.

26. *vedamantrair yathā yogyaṃ nāmabhirvā svamantrakaiḥ /*
    caturthyañta padenaiva dravyāṇyevārpayet tadā // 28, 6

27. As *Vedamantras* are prohibited to *śūdras*, a brahmin performing rituals on behalf of a *śūdra* or in his presence must avoid the use of them and replace them with *nāmamantras*. He may avoid the *mantras* altogether.

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and Vaiṣṇavite theologies. In the JS acceptance of the *varṇa* system is signified by the various forehead marks (*tilakas*) and the notion of hierarchy is evidenced by the allocation of different marks for the different *varṇas*. The JS groups the three *dvija varṇas* together for the purpose of marking, while the *śūdra* is isolated by being placed in a separate verse. The significance of these is clear. It is in this context that we should note that Sudarśana is barred from the Veda and *Brahmagāyatrī* and given a totally new *tilaka*. Paradoxically, he is given *upavīta*, a mark of the other three *varṇas* but with a different *mantra* and a *pūjā* right that is specific to him. Despite the *upavīta*, he is not the same as the other *dvijas*.

All this has a bearing on the possible authorship of the text. Could the author of these *saṁhitās* be a *Devalaka* or even a *Devalaka* who claims to be a brahmin ? If a *Devalaka* simply wished for a charter for his activities as a temple priest, it would be advantageous for him to say that his activity is sanctioned by both Pārvatī and Śiva. He could then continue his work without ambiguities of legitimation. Further, a *Devalaka* would rather have Śiva as the prime affirmer of his ongoing activity as a temple priest and would being Girijā in only incidentally. However, the narrative, as the JS stands, makes Girijā the chief actor in Sudarśana's rehabilitation. She carries out the adoption ritual and ensures that he knows the *nāmamantras* and has the sacred thread. She is thus the prime mover in the ritual arena. Śiva himself punishes the ritual violation but does not teach how to reverse it. Only after it is reversed, does he become benevolent, but even then, if the text be read one way, he bars them from using Vedic *mantras*. Girijā's instruction to Sudarśana is also double edged in that it takes Sudarśana into an exclusive devotion to Śiva. By contrast, the brahmins are not forbidden from the worship of other gods.

In short, as it stands, the JS could not have been written by a *Devalaka* with or without a claim to brahminhood. The story is indeed a chapter for his status, but one which confirms his lowly status. The story is too hostile to a *Devalaka* who claims to be a brahmin, for him to write. At the very start, he would have to accept that he had fallen because of covetousness, surely, a serious failing in a brahmin. Next, he would not only need the divine confirmation of his activity but also a categorical statement in the story that Sudarśana was indeed a brahmin. To do this, he would need to claim Dadhīci or at least himself to be a *gotra ṛṣi*. If this were so, it would categorically assure brahmindhood for his *Devalaka* progeny. Sharing other *gotras* with the brahmins puts him in the *dvija varṇa* at the best but not necessarily in the brahmin *varṇa*. Likewise, possessing his own *mantras* would help him claim specific status if he so wished, but not necessarily brahmin status. In fact, emphasis on *mantras* other than *Brahma-gāyatrī* only marks him out. If he never lost the use of Vedic *mantras*, there would be no need for him to claim their enlargement *(vivardhitam)* as is claimed through an alternative reading of JS 44, 36, since a brahmin is entitled to all the *mantras*.

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Finally, the narrative shows that a particular status was extinguished by the wrong doing of the ancestor of the *Devalaka* and a new status (*baṭu-baṭuka*) created through rituals. As the rites of passage are *per se* about status transformation and not about status restoration, it would not be meaningful for a *Devalaka* claiming to be a brahmin to claim that the old status is restored. No such claim is made by the story as it stands and a novel and elaborate description of the new status is provided. However glorious or elevated it may seem, it is not brahminic in character. To turn around the argument, since a *Devalaka* brāhmin would also agree that none is higher than the brahmin, the claim of highness without brahminhood is in vain. To clinch the proposition that a *Devalaka* brahmin could not have written it, one only needs to look at the last three verses of JS 43. It warns the brahmins that they will become *Devalakas* through coveting the wealth of others. When the *ṛṣis* want to know what a *Devalaka* does, the *Sūta* persists in his purpose of warning the brahmins. He does not simply and straightforwardly describe the temple duties and privileges of the *Devalakas* and rests at that. He chooses to digress deliberately and recount the story of the fall and rehabilitation that has little to do with covetousness. For the *Sūta*, the *Devalakas* do not reach a new height. They just fall and are rehabilitated ambivalently.

The very existence of the work suggests that there is a conflict about temple priesthood. We may however take the story in another way to argue that it is the brahmins who disapproved of temple priesthood and who are intransigent in accepting *Devalakas* as brahmins. If this is so, one of them could have written JS 44 with ease to affirm their collective distaste for Śiva temple priesthood even as they acknowledge its presence. A brahmin hostile to *Devalakas* would deliberately leave out the *gotra* identity of Sudarśana. He would regard Dadhīci, the son of Brahmā, very highly but not stress his *gotra* identity. In the story as it stands, it would be both logical and convenient for a brahmin to trace the descent of the *baṭuka* only from Sudarśana who became the first *baṭu*. The text, then deliberately omits to say that Sudarśana was a brahmin. It chooses to mention Dadhīci as a brahmin thereby leaving us to infer that Sudarśana is also a brahmin. After initially mentioning Dadhīci as a brahmin, brāhminhood is not mentioned again in the text ever. Only the diacritical mark of brahminhood, namely *vedabrahma*[28], is used and that too for exclusion.

If a brahmin composed the JS, he would compose it in this manner for the purpose of recognising and reinforcing the status subordination of the temple priests. He would have

28. The meaning of the term *vedabrahma* is unclear. It is not found in Sanskrit dictionaries. For the *Devalakas*, it is something that can increase or decrease (*vivardhitam* or *vivarjitam*). Presumably for the brahmins, it is the inability to practise Vedic rituals. The nearest dictionary terms are *brahmavedin* (one with knowledge of Vedas) and *vedabrāhmaṇa* (a brahmin who knows the Vedas).

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little concern about barring them from *vedabrahma*. If a tolerant brahmin were to write the KS, he would have little difficulty in saying that the *Devalakas* should do their own duties, but he too would baulk at asserting that *Devalakas* were indeed brahmins.

On balance, it seems likely that the authors of both of these *saṃhitās* were brāhmins. But were they Vaiṣṇavite, Śaivite or *Smārta* brahmins ? A Vaiṣṇavite brāhmin would be unconcerned as to who worships Śiva and hence would be unlikely to be the author. A Śaivite brahmin who is exclusively devoted to Śiva could write to praise the god but would hesitate to degrade Śiva's temple priest. That leaves a *Smārta* brahmin as a probable author. By the probable date of the JS (probably around 900A.D.), and the KS (*ca* 14th century), the category of the *Smārta* brahmin was well established, and so there is the possibility of a *Smārta* author. While a Śaivite brahmin recognises only Śiva as the supreme god, a *Smārta* brahmin, can well compose a work in praise of Śiva and at the same time deride the temple priest. Thus, a *Smārta* who has a marked devotion to Śiva, could write such a work. Could such a *Smārta* then be of *Marāṭhī* origin ? There is no hard evidence, so its origin remains a source of speculation. It is possible that JS 44 was composed by a brahmin positively inclined to Śiva, a proposition which agrees with Hazra's view about its authorship. In the context of this paper, it needs to be emphasised that if the *reason d'etre* of JS is the exclusion of the *Devalaka-gurava* from the brahmin *varṇa*, then the work is apposite for Maharashtra and Gujarat, more than anywhere else.

VI

IS JS 44 a *Jātipurāṇa* ?

It should be borne in mind that the *Devalaka* narrative in the JS and the KS is in *upākhyāna*[29], a side story which does not add much to the main purpose of the ŚP, which is to adore Śiva. *Adhyāya* 44 sits somewhat ill at ease with the rest of the JS. In the overall narrative of the JS that spends most of its time singing high praises of the brahmins and celebrating *dāna* given to them, the sudden appearance of the story of a temple priest who is reduced to an implied *śūdra* status, appears incongruous and distracts from the flow of the narrative. Only when we take *adhyāya* 44 as a *Jātipurāṇa* that is embedded in the JS, its isolation from the rest is understandable. The rationale for the existence of JS 44 and its *Jātipurāṇa* function becomes clear when we look closely at the presence of ambiguities, the charges of interpolations and suggested alternative readings of some of its verses. In short, if we look at the contentions that have arisen in the reading of it, we know that it is a *Jātipurāṇa*.

29. Whilst *Purāṇas* bring together the myths concerning the titulary god, the subject of *Purāṇas*, they also provide detailed instructions about worship, *phalaśruti*, theological referents and *māhātmya*.

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Several verses listed below illustrate how contentious some of them are and how they take the *Devalaka* close to a brahmin, at the same time as they draw him away. Gurava writers have treated them as interpolations. The verses are JS 44, 32-33, 44, 36 and 44, 38. For the sake of convenience, I repeat the translations.

32 Those who are auspicious, should always bathe and put on a round *tilaka* mark. "Perform the *Śivasandhyā* and your *gāyatrī* recitation.

33 Having first performed my worship, and such other things as appropriate for your *kula*, your *mantras* should be recited, not the Vedic *mantra*.

36 If someone worships you, I too am worshipped". Having given them that boon, which deprived them of Vedic and brahminic rituals, [Śiva said],

38 Because they had fallen away from austerities *(tapas)*, they were regarded as being low in austerities *(tapodhamāḥ)*. Through Śiva and Śivā's favour, they all increased in number.

There are several conflicting notions embedded in these verses. As I point out again, JS 44, 32 and JS 44, 33 assign positive duties, namely, worship and related tasks to the *Devalaka*. On the other hand, there is no listing of these duties and tasks. Certainly, there is no affirmation of brahminic duties in them such as pursuit of learning or performance of sacrifices. JS 44-36 which is categorical, in fact punishes the *Devalaka* from a brahminic viewpoint. Even as it approves the *pūjā* of Śiva by a *Devalaka*, it takes away his access to the Veda. JS 44-38 explains the consequent low status of the *Devalakas* by calling them *tapodhamas*, but then it states that they have increased greatly in number (presumably since Śiva's encounter with Sudarśana). This increase is symbolic of well-being and the receipt of Śiva's favour, hence it can be read as approving of the *Devalakas*. However here, the statement may also contain a certain ruefulness, since the *Mahābhārata* and every Purāṇa[30] say that, in the *Kaliyuga*, with the demise of *Dharma*, all things evil, lowly and so on, also multiply. We may surmise that the composer of JS 44-38 either disapproves of the great numbers of *Devalakas* in his time or that he simply acknowledges the reality of their proliferation. As would befit an elite exclusivist category, the brahmins have never rejoiced in their own proliferation.

The KS mentions that *Devalakas* do not have the rights of the brahmins[31]. This may

30. Kinjavadekar Pandit Ramachandrashastri (Ed.), *Śrī Mahābhāratam*, Oriental Book Reprint Corporation, New Delhi, 1979, Vol.3, p.310, *Vanaparvam*, 190, 17-42. See also R.S. Sharma, "The Kali Age, A Period of Social Crisis", in S.N. Mukerjee (Ed.), *India, History and Thought*, Subarnarekha, Calcutta, 1982, pp. 186-203.

31. Against this is the recognition that this *saṁhitā* gives the *Devalaka* special privileges where it has taken away the brahminical status.

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have been true at the time of the composition of the KS. On the other hand, the KS does not actually say Śiva took away those rights. Thirty out of the total of forty-three chapters of the KS are concerned with the *māhātmya* of Śiva, only thirteen are *upākhyānas*. The manner and length in which the *māhātmyas* are narrated makes the author an ardent devotee of Śiva. That he is a brahmin can be surmised from his efforts to distinguish the brahmins, presumably including himself, from the *Devalakas*. The author of the KS could easily be a Śaivite brāhmin[32].

Tilaka and Authorship

Whoever we take to be the author of the JS and KS, the *Saṃhitās* offer a rationale for the existence of a novel circular *tilaka* for the Śiva temple priests. This differentiates them from other brahmins since neither in the ŚP nor elsewhere are brahmins prescribed a round *tilaka*. The round *tilaka* was (and still is) the diacritical mark of *śūdras* and the untouchables in Western India[33]. The *ślokas* regarding the *tilaka* appear inconsistent with JS 27, 24-30 which specify the shapes of the various *tilaka* marks for all the *varṇas* and there is no mention of the round *tilaka* in them. Among the Śiva temple priests in India, only the Maharashtrian *Gurava* and the Gujarati *Tapodhana* wear the circular *tilaka* mark. All others wear the more common Śaivite *tripuṇḍra* mark. The *śūdras* and the untouchables in Maharashtra do not wear the half moon as prescribed in JS 27. 24-30.[34]

Why should the story in JS 44 mention *tilaka* at all, if it is not to lessen the *Devalaka*'s status and mark him as a *śūdra* ? If JS 44 were to be a *Jātipurāṇa*, and if the *Devalaka*-Śaiva temple priest did wear a round *tilaka*, the practice would need to be explained, since *tilakas* are diacritical marks of status. Thus the round *tilaka*, otherwise a mark of *śūdra*, becomes

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32. The majority of *Marāṭhī* brahmins subscribe to Śaivism and hence are Śaivite brahmins. This needs to be differentiated from the name *Śaiva-brahmins* which the *Śaiva-Gurava* caste have adopted for themselves.

33. It is interesting to compare the traditional dictum in Maharashtra that, 'the Gurava temple priest must wear the round *tilaka* mark', with Vīraśaiva practices. See Mannur Mallikarjunshastri (Ed.), The *Vīraśaivācārapradīpikā*, Kalpataru Press, Solapur, 1905, p. 133, *ślokas* 99-104. This work states that the *ūrdhvapuṇḍra* and round *tilakas* must never be worn. Those who do so are sinners *(pāpakarmiṇāḥ)* and non-believers *(pāṣaṇḍāḥ)*. The writer was obviously aware that the round *tilaka* was the mark of a *śūdra* and the *ūrdhvapuṇḍra* that of a Vaiṣṇavite.

34. This meets the injunction in the *Śūdrakamalākara* which quotes the *Brahmapurāṇa* in saying that a brahmin should wear a vertical *tilaka*, a *kṣatriya* a double horizontal one, a *vaiśya* a half moon and a *śūdra* a round one. The *Śūdrakamalākara*, (tr. Vamanaśastri Islampurkar), Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay, 1910, p.60. *Marāṭhī* brahmins follow this text closely.

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something that has been ordained by Śiva. This gives it a sanity unique to the *Devalaka*. In other words, the round *tilaka* signifies that the *Devalaka*, despite being a *śūdra*, is a favourite of Girijā and is forgiven by Śiva. The brahmin authors, Śaivite or *Smārta* would, in the light of 27, 24-30, need to deal with the issue of the *tilaka* if only to ensure that the *Devalakas* do not claim the *tripuṇḍra*. The prescription of a novel *tilaka* is appropriate in a JP since it defines the *Devalaka* as a *śūdra*.

Denial of Vedic Rights

Authorship of the JS by a *Smārta* brahmin with a strong Śaivite leaning would seemingly explain 44, 33 quoted above, where Śiva forbids the *baṭuka* from reciting Vedic *mantras*. However, there is still a problem when the *śloka* is read with 44, 36 and 39. 44, 36, *pādas* a and b make the *Devalaka* a necessary intermediary between the devotee (even if he were a brahmin) and Śiva and 44. 39 makes it mandatory for people to genuflect towards the *baṭuka* prior to worshipping Śiva. In contrast to this, 44, 36 *pādas* c and d are totally degrading to the *Devalaka*, even more so if he were a brahmin, because his vedic rights are being taken away. *Pādas* c and d thus do not sit well with *pādas* a and b in 44, 36 in that Śiva's boon is ambivalent. While with one hand, Śiva gives one boon, i.e., closeness to him, he takes away with another, a *dvija's* access to the Vedas. Such contrast is even more glaringly visible when one recalls that Śiva is a generous and easily appeased bestower, showering boons on all, including demons.[35] Thus while a *Smārta* brahmin would not be troubled much by this anomaly, a Śaivite brahmin on the other hand would accept it readily, since he would need to assert his own separation from the *Devalaka*. The prohibition of access to the Vedas for the *Devalaka* would achieve this for him. Either one or the other kind of brahmin could have written this part of the text. But neither would write that *Vedabrahma* was increased, which is the contention of the present day *Tapodhanas* and also the *Gurava*.

Tapodhama* and *Tapodhana

In 44, 38, the first two *pādas* should be seen as degrading to the temple priest because he is described as a *Tapodhama*, 'one who is low in *tapas*'. The Śiva temple priests in Gujarat, the neighbouring state to Maharashtra, who call themselves *Tapodhanas*, are called *Tapodhamas* by the Gujarati community and especially by the Gujarati brahmins whenever they want to ridicule them. A miniscule change, from *ana* to *ama* alters the meaning of

35. Śiva's largesse in showering boons even on enemies of gods is well known; stories of demons having acquired special boons from Śiva abound in the Purāṇas: those of Andhakāsura, Maṇi, Malla and Rāvaṇa, just to mention a few.

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the *śloka* completely and also removes to some extent an ambiguity in Śiva's boon. Several such *ślokas* exist in JS 44, where small changes in the verses alter the meaning drastically in the eyes of the reader. What may appear derogatory to the temple priest turns into high praise for him. While further discussion is beyond the scope of this paper, here it should be sufficient to point out that the *Tapodhanas* and the *Guravas* take these JS *ślokas* to be interpolations and are prepared to suggest alterations to suit their claim to brahminhood.

Both the *Smārta* and Śaivite brahmins would readily use the term *tapodhama* to point out that Sudarśana's fall from *tapas*[36] stood forever. If the term was applied to the *Devalakas* at the time of composition of JS and KS, it would have had to be clarified. A vigorous, if not exclusive pursuit of temple priesthood would imply neglect of the pursuit of learning, which among other things, is *tapas*.

VII

Where was the JS composed ?

As to the place of origin of the JS, we can again speculate. From the previous discussion it is clear that the JS (and hence the KS which is largely made up of chapters from the JS) if regarded as a *Jātipurāṇa*, is relevant mainly to Maharashtra and to Gujarat, but in the present day Gujarat the brāhmin antipathy to Śiva temple priests is not highly aggravated. Nor is there a mention of it in the past. It has already been pointed out that for Hazra, the JS was written by someone who may have lived on the banks of the Narmada or Tapti rivers. Both rivers run through the present state of Gujarat. But at one stage Narmada also flows along the Northern border of Maharashtra and the Tapti runs through Maharashtra for quite a distance. The Narmada marks the start of the southern cultural region. The Tapti and the south coast of Narmada are part of the *Dakṣiṇāpatha*. In both Maharashtra and Gujarat, brahmins are largely *draviḍa*, but in the former, they are more so. Hence, I suggest that the JS was written by a brahmin who belonged to the region of Maharashtra and South Gujarat, the ancient Lāṭapradeśa which was ruled by the western Cālukyas at the time when the JS would have been composed.[37] The following arguments are relevant here.

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36. This is the only time *tapas* is mentioned in the JS. It is either used to distinguish a brahmin from a *Devalaka* or *tapas* is the quality of Sudarśana before his fall and so *tapodhama* means he has fallen from *tapas*.

37. The Raṣṭrakūṭas and Cālukyas ruled Maharashtra intermittently between the 4th and the 11th century A.D.

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- The *Smārta* brahmin category is well established in Maharashtra. This is important because a *Smārta* brahmin would be the writer most at ease with the text. Since the Ādi-Śaṅkarācārya's injunction, almost all Maharashtrian brahmins have been *Smārta*[38] and hence worshipped all gods of the *pañcāyatana*.[39] They have, however, a strong predilection for Śiva.

- The round *tilaka* mark as prescribed in JS 44, 32 for Śaivite temple priests is used by the *Guravas*. However, in Maharashtra, this mark is reserved specifically for the *śūdras* and as stated before, the *Śūdrakamalākara*, a treatise written by a *Marāṭhī* brāhmin and followed closely by *Purohitas* in Maharashtra for performing rituals for *śūdras*, specifies such a mark for them. The *Guravas* are thus classified as *śūdras*.

- Śiva temple priests in the state of Gujarat are called *Tapodhanas*.

- Around the time when the JS was written, probably the 10th century, brahmins in Maharashtra were facing serious pressure from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings and from the *Yādavas* for their placement as *kṣatriyas* in the *varṇa* hierarchy. The Maharashtrian brahmins undermined these royal claims to *kṣatriya varṇa* by declaring that, in the *Kaliyuga*, *kṣatriyas* and *vaiśyas* had become extinct and only two *varṇas* had survived; the brahmin and the *śūdra*. Since the Vedic brahmins were unwilling to accept temple priests as one of their own kind it was logical within the framework of *varṇa* hierarchy that they put the non-vedic temple priests in the *śūdra varṇa*, their status in contemporary Maharashtra.

- From the 10th century onwards, among the many protestant anti-vedic and anti-brahminic beliefs, the Nātha cult became popular in Maharashtra and seriously challenged brahmin supremacy. Since the Nātha cult employs Tantric elements in preaching *bhakti*, ritualist brahmins consigned the followers of this cult to the *śūdra varṇa*. The present day Śiva temple priests in Maharashtra, the *Gurava*, identify themselves as followers of the Nāth cult, a situation which also holds for Gujarat.

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38. The definition of the term *Smārta* seems to vary according to region and beliefs within particular traditions. In Maharashtra, the term has come to mean religious tolerance among the various sects and a synthesis of some of the rituals. For a detailed study of the Smārta tradition, see V.S. Pathak, *Smārta Religious Tradition*, Kusumanjali Publication, Meerut, 1987.

39. The worship of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Devī, Gaṇeśa and Sūrya together is known as *pañcāyatana pūjā*. The Ādi-Śaṅkarācārya introduced this practice in order to reduce the strife amongst the various cults that existed during his time. *Pañcāyatana pūjā* became very popular in Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra and it is still so today.

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On balance, it is reasonable to assume that the JS was written by an orthodox *Smārta Marāṭhī* brahmin. If, as Hazra says, the KS was written much later in the fourteenth century, it is possible that from the JS, whole *ślokas* were changed to suit the temple priest, who at this time in Maharashtra was an established group, comprising the Śaiva-Gurava and the Liṅgāyats. Very likely, the *Guravas* themselves did not write it, since their work would carry less weight, but obtained the services of a brahmin[40] who wrote presumably for a wealthy patron, or perhaps out of personal conviction.

The *Devalaka* as he appears in the *Jñānasaṁhitā* of the Śivapurāṇa is a mythical ancestor. The JS is close in content and aim with contemporary *Jātipurāṇas*. One may call it a *Jātipurāṇa* in that, at the very least, it seems to act like one in trying to elevate a caste group to a higher status in society.

The *Devalaka* as a temple priest is an institution with a historical depth. The historical *Devalaka* has been considered low in status. He has also been distanced from Vedic learning as well as cosmic rituals. These two facts about the *Devalaka*'s status are firm enough to be present in every account. The JS has it and so do the contemporory *Jātipurāṇas* of the *Guravas*.

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40. The Śaiva *Gurava* obtained the services of Upasanishastri, a brahmin, to compose the *Devalaka-kathāmṛta*, a *Gurava Jātipurāṇa*. See J.B. Bapat, A *Jātipurāṇa*....., *op. cit.*

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SOME MINOR RĀMĀYAṆA WORKS IN THE MEDIEVAL GUJARĀTĪ LITERATURE*

DEVDATTA S. JOSHI**

A number of medieval Gujarātī poets have composed poems related to the *Rāmāyaṇa* from the 15th century A.D. upto the first half of the 19th century A.D. These varied compositions include the Gujarātī version of the whole *Rāmāyaṇa*, the epitomes of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the translations of the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*, the summary of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, the legends regarding the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the dialogue poems like Rāvaṇa-Mandodarī, Aṅgadaviṣṭi, verses on the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* written in Gujarati prose by some anonymous writers, thus in a different way *Rāmāyaṇa*-inspired works are being cmposed. An attempt is made here in this paper to introduce some less-known compositions. Most of these works are preserved as manuscripts.

***Rāmaprabandha*[1] by Mīṭhā[2] -**

Among less-known *Rāmāyaṇa* works, this work stands first in sequence. The poet hails from Taḷājā, a village near Bhavnagar, Gujarat State and the year of composition is V.S. 1587, which we get from the work itself. The Ms. is incomplete.

Saṁvat Panarasa Satyāsi jnāna budhi
Āṇi Manihāi
Bhavasāyara Utarvā Pāra Śāstramathī nañi
Kāḍhiuṃ Sāra
Nayarī Taḷājai Āso Māsi Sudi Pakhi
Terasi Manaḥulhāsi

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** 204, Rajalaxmi Society, Old Padara Road, Race Course, Vadodara-390 007.

1. In medieval Gujarat *Prabandha* in Sanskrit means prose (sometime verse) work narrating life-sketch of historical persons with quotations from Apabhraṁśa/old Gujarati. In old Gujarati the word *Prabandha* is used with different meanings. Historical poems are known as *Rāsa* and imaginative stories are known as *Prabandha* (*Gujarātī Sāhitya Kośa*-3, p.400).

2. Bharatīya Vidyā Bhavan, Mumbai Ms. No. 1279, the year of composition, Vikrama Saṁvat 1587.

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Viṣṇava Mīṭhāi joi Vicāra Prabhandha
raciu Paraupagāra

(In the year V.S. 1587 with the help of mind full of knowledge and reason I drew out an essence with churning of Scriptures to cross the ocean of life. In city Taḷājā, on the 13th day of the first half of *Āso* month with mind full of joy and paying full attention *Vaiṣṇava Mīṭhā* has composed *Prabandha* for the benefit of others.)

In the beginning the poet narrates the characteristics of *Vaiṣṇava*-

"Sāṃbhali Sāṃmī ŚrīRaghunātha
Karua Vinati joḍi hātha
kahaiṃ Viṣṇavanaiṃ Āpa Chandaiṁ ramaiṃ,
kahu Śrirāmanaiṃ Te kima gamaiṃ
mani Mailu Māyā mukhi dharaiṃ
Vaisāsī Paranaiṃ Chetaraiṃ
Sampyā droha Uparī je bhamaiṃ, Kahu.....
Nārī piyārī Sarisu ramaiṃ, Kahu.....
Sāstrataṇā lopa je karaiṃ akhāda vastu
Jāṇī ādarai
Nirbhayapaṇai Viṣṇavanaiṃ haṇai
Madirapānī thiu raṅgiiṃ ramai"

(O Lord Śrī Raghunātha hear, I pray with folded hands. I speak to *Vaiṣṇavas* that if you behave in like manner, how Śrī Rāma would like it ?

With dirty mind and artificial love on face deceiving those who have put faith in you, your mind always wandering around the hatred accumulated, how Śri Rāma would like it ?

Playing amorous sport with women how Śrī Rāma would like it ? Who do not abide by the rules of scriptures, accepting restricted things, killing Vaiṣṇavas fearlessly enjoying wine and women.) In this way discussing sinful deeds in detail the poet now presents sacred precept -

"Sukhasaṁsāra asāra mani dharai
Vānaprasthanu Manoratha karai
Kevala Vaikaṇṭha beṭhai jeha
Rāgadveṣa Mamatā Pariharai Āpopuṃ
na Vikhāṃṇai jeha
Bhāṇḍa Bhavāi Katuhala thāi Fāgakheliī
navi jovā jāi
Veśyānāṭika na joi jeha

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Tapajapasaṃyama mani nirmala dharai
Nidrā Āhāra alpa je karai
Sadācāra Saṃtoṣī Jeha"

(Who believes worldly happiness as useless who wishes to embrace *vānaprastha,* he who abandons love and hatred, attachment, does not praise himself, he who does not attend show of jester or vulgar folkdrama, does not go to see spring-festival during Holī, does not see dramas, he who practices penance with controlled mind, eats and sleeps very little, who is of good conduct and contended attains his position in *Vaikuṇṭha.*)

In the end after poet's name and year of composition there is *Phalaśruti* (statement about the benefits of action or of hearing this poetry.)

Bhaṇasiī Guṇasiī je Ekacitta
Tehani hosiī nirmala mati
Bhāva dharī je ārādhasiī śiva
Sukhasampati te pāṃmasiī

Iti Viṣṇujagatam - (The Ms. is incomplete from here onwards). (He who will recite this with concentration, his intellect will become pure. He who will worship Śiva with emotion will achieve happiness and wealth). From this work it appears quite clear that in 15th and 16th century *Rāmabhakti* propagated by Rāmānand had spread in many places in Gujarat, address 'Raghunātha' had become very popular. Rāmabhakta poet Bhālaṇa, composer of *Rāmabāḷalīlānāṃ pado* also flourished during this period. This work is important from historical point of view of the spread of *Rāmabhakti* in Gujarat.

***Aṅgadaviṣṭī* by Kīkuvasahī**[3]

Most probably poet Kikuvasahī is the first poet who has shown the way of expression in a dialogue form with sentiment of bravery by writing *Aṅgadaviṣṭī* in *Chappaya.*[4] The Poet hailed from Gaṇadevī, Anāvalā, a sub-caste of Brahmins whose father's name was Godā Vasahī. The poem is spread into 60 *chappās.* The poem on this subject is not known before this work. Māṇḍaṇa and Uaddhava have written *Rāmāyaṇas* in which this dialogue is narrated as secondary but special effort is only of Kīku. Kīku has described heroic sentiment as main sentiment in this poem.[5] In the dialogue between Aṅgada and Rāvaṇa, Aṅgada praises Rāma and Rāvaṇa shows drawbacks of Rāma. Such is the arrangement made by the poet. Dialogues are full of bravery.

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3. *Budhhiprakaśa* Vol. 70, Dec. 1923, p. 353. The poet flourished in *Saṁvat* 1550 approximately, the year of composition is not available.
4. Foreword of *'Prācina Kāvya Mañjarī'* edited by Trivedī Jeṭhālāla.
5. Śāstrī K.K., *'Kavicarita'* p. 137.

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Aṅgada - *līdhī jāṇe laṅka dasi śara tāharāṃ Kāpī*
pāchā valasī Rāma rāja Vibhīṣaṇa Āpī (p. 356)
Rāvaṇa-Manasya Mātra e Rāma
Kapya Girināṃ Sāvijaḍāṃ
Kumbhakarṇa Jāgasi bhakṣa Karisi ja
Havaḍāṃ

(Aṅgada says that take it from me that Rāma has captured *Laṅkā* cuting off your ten heads. Rāma will return bestowing the kingdom to Vibhīṣaṇa.

Rāvaṇa says that Rāma is only a human being and monkeys are animals of the mountain. When Kumbhakarṇa will wake up he will eat away all these at once.)

The poet not stopping at the instance of *Aṅgadaviṣṭi* only. He has included the fact of Rāmā-Rāvaṇa - war also in this poem. Terrible destruction made by Indrajit, an incident of awakening Kumbhakarṇa at the time of war etc. are examples of the same.

Śivadāsa's Parśurāmākhyāna[6]

The poet hailed from Khambhāta, by caste Nāgara and the year of composition V.S. 1667 and other informations are available from the work itself. The work is *Ākhyāna* poem[7] consisting of 12 *kaḍavāṃ* written in Deśī. In first two *kaḍavāṃ chappaya* is included. At

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6. *Prācina kāvya*, Traimāsika Vol.7, No.4, pp.9-20. The year of compostion is V.S.1667. The poet flourished in between V.S. 1667-77.

7. *Ākhyāna*- The word *Ākhyāna* is derived from *Ākhyā* to tell, to describe and all our *Ākhyānas*, either 'Śukadevaji is telling to Parīkṣita or Vaiśaṁpāyana would be telling to Janmejaya and in this way they are narrated. In long stories like *Rāmāyana-Mahābhārata* episodes of Hariścandra, Nala, Prahalāda are woven for preaching. Such episodes are called *Upākhyānas*. If somebody is narrating such *Upākhyānas* with action, singing and with playing instrument they are called *Ākhyāna*. Narrators of Purānas and Māṇabhaṭṭas were singing in this way Puraṇa's *Upākhyānas* before the public in Gujarati with acting and with giving rhythm of ring on *Māṇa* (Copper pitcher). The characteristics of *Ākhyāna* is that it is divided into *kaḍavāṃ*. The word *'Kaḍavuṃ'* is derived from Sanskrit word *'Kaḍavaka'* which means a poetic composition consisting many mixed *Rāgas* or *Ḍhālas*. There are three parts of *'Kaḍavāṁ. Mukhabandha* (introductory part) suggestive of *Rāga, Ḍhāḷa* (style of singing) and *Valaṇa* (verse in poem indicating change in metre). *Mukhabanda* suggestive of *Rāga* consists one, one and half or two lines in which episode to be narrated is mentioned. In *Ḍhāḷa* the episode is narrated. In the first line of *Valaṇa* there is a summary of the episode narrated in *Ḍhāḷa* and in the second line there is suggestion of the episode to be narrated in subsequent *kaḍavā*. In the beginning of *Ākhyāna* there is a worship of Gaṇeśa or the God-Goddess as their choice-deity and at the end there is *phalaśruti*. (*Gujarātī Sāhityano Itihāsa* Part-2, pp.28-30)

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the end of each *kaḍavā* there is *pūrvachayo*[8], in which it is mentioned that in which *Rāga* the subsequent *kaḍavuṃ* would be sung.

Mahābhāratanī Kahuṃ Kathā
Paṇḍavaguṇa Gāuṃ Karī
Karajoḍi Śivadāsa Kahe, Kahuṃ Ramagrī
Rāge karī (p.2)

(I will tell you the story of *Mahābhārata* singing the virtues of Pāṇḍavas in *Rāmagrī Rāga*. Śivadāsa speaks this with folded hands). This thing is new in Śivadāsa. Poet has confessed that he has written this *Ākhyāna* hearing it from *Guru*.

Bhūdhara vyāsa Mukhāgrathī Suṇyuṃ
Paraśurāma guṇajñāna (p.1)

(I have heard virtues of Paraśurāma from the speech of Bhūdhara Vyāsa). In this work, sentiments of wonder and bravery are predominant. When Sahasrārjuna comes in Ṛṣi's *Āśrama*, his courteous reception is made with the help of *kāmadhenu* (desire - yieding cow). We find sentiment of wonder when jewels etc. are offered as present and sentiment of bravery in narration of valour of the cow when the king is going to snatch it away forcefully. An imagination of the origin of Sindhi, khurāsana community is interwoven in the description of warriors who came out from the body of the cow.

Śiṅgathī Sindhī upanyā java śisha (P.15)
dhuṇāvyaṃ dhena
Vaḷī khurāsana kharīe thakī
Prakaṭa thayā balavanta

(Sindhis were born from the horns when the cow quivered it's head and brave khurāsanas were born from the hoof)

There is a sentiment of bravery in narrating the anger of Paraśurāma thus -

Jema araṇya melyo agni bāḷe āṇavā
prallekāḷa (p.17)

(Like the fire in the woods burns to bring annihilation)

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8. Although there were different *Deśis* and different styles of singing, *kaḍavuṃ* was felt one single compact unit. In *mukhabandha* suggestive of *Rāga*, preface was made of the episode to be narrated in *kaḍavā* and that suggested incident was narrated in *Ḍhāḷa* or *pūrvchāyo*, and therefore the second half of the last line of *mukhabandh* suggestive of *Rāga* was becoming the first half of *Ḍhāḷa* or *Pūrvachāyo*. And in this way *mukhabandha* and *Ḍhāḷa* were interconnected.

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Rāmavanavāsanī Sākhīo[9] **by Govinda**[10]

In this work which starts from *Dhruvapada* (Refrain line) *Rājā Rāmacandrajīne Rajagādī Maḷo* (May king Ramachandraji get the Royal throne) and begins with the description of how the pleasant atmosphere is created in the city knowing that coronation of Rāma is to be held upto the content of Rāma-Sītā going to the forest is described in 13 *sākhīs*. For example

"Sākhī - Kekaine bharamāvatī dāsī karatī vāta
Moḍhuṃ tāruṃ ḍhalī jaśe ne kema kare che māna
Are Abhāgaṇī harṣa sāne dhare
Rājā Rāmacandrajīne Rājagādī Maḷo"

(Maid servant is talking to Kaikeyī misleading her that why do you feel pride, your face would be down, O unlucky ! why do you feel so delighted ? May king Rāmacandrajī get the Royal throne.)

Sītāsandeśo **by Vajio**[11]

The oldest manuscript of *'Sītavela'* a work of this poet is of 1658 A.D. On the basis of the same, it can be said that poet flourished upto that year.[12]

Sīta is sending the message to Rāma through Hanumāna from *Aśokavāṭikā* is the content of this poem. There is depiction of Sītā's anguish of separation. This is a poem of message poem type in which reminiscences of the past are linked. Here Sītā is singing *līlās* (sports) of *Daśāvatāra* (Ten incarnations of the Supreme Self) as *līlās* of Rāma in which she sings her own story after the story of an incarnation of Rāma. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Hanumāna is singing Rāmastory but here Sītā sings it. This change is noteworthy. There is a story upto *Aṅgadaviṣṭī* in 51 *Padas*. The fourth line of every stanza can be sung as *Dhruvapada* (Refrain line). This work is remarkable because of such versification.

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9. *Sākhī* means a kind of *Dohrā* or *Pada* containing two lines. A verse to bring variety in between the song. Ladies stand still while singing *Sākhī* and move around while singing the remaining part of the song (*Bhagavadgomaṇḍala Kóśa* part-9 by Bhagavatasinhajī, Pravīna Prakāśana, Rajkot, p. 8685)

10. Gujarāta Vidyā Sabhā, Ahmedabad, Ms. No. 2033. Except the name of the poet, no information is available.

11. *Bruhat kāvyadohana* - 4, p. 750.

12. *Gujarātī Sāhityakośa*-1, p.391.

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***Sītāvirahanī cāturīo* by Haridāsa**[13]

The poet hailed from Vaḍodarā, Daśālāḍa Baniā by caste and his father's name was Devīdāsa. He was an accountant of Premānanda and because of association with Premānanda he was inclined to compose poems. In this poem of ten *cāturis* episodes right from the washerman's words upto Vālmīki's meeting with Sītā are narrated. *Rāgas* like, *Dhavaḷa dhanāśrī, Dhanāśrī* used in *Ākhyāna* are used here. After two lines of *cāturī* there comes *Ḍhāḷa*. The first half of the first line of *Ḍhāḷa* maintains the sense of the second half of the upper line. For example -

"Ema Dhobī bolyo kūḍījī, Vāta Vaśī Rāmane
bhuṁḍījī (P.92)
Tethī bolāvyāṃ Mātā pāsejī
Bolyā Rāghava kuḍī āśejī
Ḍhāḷa- Āśā kuḍī Rāghavamanamāṃ
Śitā jāṇe śuṃ ya"

(Thus washerman spoke bad words. Rāma grasped that bad talk, therefore he called *Mātā* near and spoke about the bad intention. *Ḍhāḷa*- Bad intention of *Rāghava's* mind how Sītā can know ?)

Hearing about abandonment of Sītā, Bharata talks to put on garbs of an ascetic which gives new colour to his character. After asking why she has been abandoned without fault, Sītā is sending message that you do not take care as your wife but take care as a daughter of Janaka.

Vallabha's *Rāmavivāha*[14]

The poet flourished between second half of the 17th century and first half of the 18th century. A native of Begampurā, Surat, Audicya Ṭoḷaka brahmin by caste whose father's name was Nānā Bhaṭṭa. The year of composition is not traced. The content of this poem consisting three *Padas* is of the festival of Rāma's marriage. The poem beginning from *"Raghukulabhāṇa Rāmacandra raṇadhīra caḍhyā varaghoḍa"* (The sun of the family of Raghu, Rāmacandra, firm in battle, rode on the marriage-horse) in *Rāga kāfī*, ends with the description of the joyous atmosphere alongwith the narration of marriage ceremony of all four brothers, shower of flowers by *Devas* etc. Marriage customs of Gujarāt are reflected in lines such as ' *'Pache thāḷa pūrī Pāṃkaṇa līdhāṃ tāṃhāṃ āḍāṃ antarapaṭa dīdhāṃ"* (p.707)

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13. *Prācina kāvyamālā*-9, p.91. The poet flourished in 1669 A.D., year of Composition is Saṁvat 1722. From the point of view of outward composition *Padamālā* (series of *Pādas*) of *cāturī* is just *Ākhyāna* in *Pada* only. (*Madhyakāḷanā Sāhitya prakāro* by Candrakānt Mehta, pub. N. M. Tripathi, Mumbai - 2, 1958, p.215.

14. *Bṛhat Kāvyadohana*-8, p.727.

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Iḍī piṇḍī uvāraṇāṃ kidhāṃ

(*Pāṃkaṇā* [four things presented to bride and bridegroom at the time of welcome] were taken in a decorated plate, curtain of cloth was held in between bride and bridegroom, benedictory ceremony was performed for warding off evils, small balls of wet ashes waved around the bride and the bridegroom and thrown away to protect them from evil eyes.)

Divāḷībāī - Rāmajanmanī Garabīo[15]

The poetess hailed from Ḍabhoī. She stayed in Goravā and thereafter in Ayodhyā. It is said for her to be alive round about in 1791 A.D. but in her poetry we find words like *'Kāmeṭī levi' 'Kāmeṭī Āpavī'* (to take examination, to give examination). Such usages are suggestive of the second half of the 19th century. Apart from this we do not find the influence of medieval period in her language and emotional set-up and at the end of every work in many *padas* her style of giving autobiography is also looking strange. No manuscript of her any work is available and we can find similarity of her some lines with lines of Choṭālāla N. Bhaṭṭa and therefore it is conjectured that works ascribed to Divāḷībāī belong to Choṭālāla N. Bhaṭṭa.[16]

In this work the delight of the birth of Rāma is described alongwith autobiographical facts of poetess in 201 *Garabīs*. Kaikeyī is demanding pods of dust to eat on asking for boon by king Daśaratha to queens at the time of festival of *Pañcamāsī* (Fifth month of pregnancy). Sumitrā is demanding tile to chew and Kauśalyā wants to eat coal and ashes. On refusing these queens say that as she is disfavoured and other queens are dear she has been said no, moreover she had not come to demand of her own accord etc.

All these are well described. Characteristic of woman's nature is a special feature of this work. Poetess shows that woman may be tempted to eat such things during pregnancy and obstinacy of king also has to submit before the obstinacy of a woman. The priest is quoting *Bairakaśāstra* (scripture favouring women) which is greater than six scriptures. The Priest is replying to the question why queens eat such things.

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15. *Prācina Kāvyamālā*-6, p.1. Ed. pub. H.D. Kāṇṭāwālā. Year of composition Saṁvat 1817 approximately (Dr. M.R. Majamudar Ed. Raṇayajña Foreword. p.59)
Garabī is our lyric of medieval period. We find Padas which may be called Garabi right from Narasiṃha to Dayārāma. *Pada-Garabo-Garabī* were synonyms for pretty long period and thereafter with the march of time it had been customarily accepted that long *Pada* is *Garabo* and short *Pada* is *Garabī*.
Garabī is a composition of *Deśī* music full of emotion of concentrated sentiment (*Gujarātī Sāhitya Kośa*-3, p.117)

16. *Gujarātī Sāhitya Kośa*-1, p.174.

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"Gora ketā suṇiye rāya khaṭa je śāstra jo Tethī moṭum Eka manāya, Bairakaśāstra jo" (p.14)

(The priest says O king ! hear. There are six scriptures, the greater scripture, than them is *Bairakaśāstra*)

Dreams of queens are also suggestive of what is destined in future. Kaikeyī speaks out in sleep -

"Ketī moṭābhāīnā pāga pujuṃ prīte jo" (p.14)

(I will worship elder brother's feet with love.)

Sumitrā says "Ketī sapanāṃ māṃhe nāra, thāuṃ brahmacārī jo" (p.15)

(In dream, a woman says that I will become celibate.)

Kauśalyā speaks -

"Vasāve koī jo vāsa dehaḍī jāḷu jo (p.17)

Bāṃdhī jaṭā jāuṃ vana sogana pāḷu jo"

(If somebody settles me in forest, I will emaciate my body, I will go to the forest tying my hairs and will fulfil my vow.)

As Divāḷībāī happens to be a woman, she can show mental condition of pregnant woman. In line like *uāṃ uāṃ karī pāḍi rāḍa* (cried loudly with words uāṃ uāṃ). There is *svabhāvokti* (a figure of speech which consists in describing a thing to the life) of child Rāma. Social custom to read horoscope is seen. Rāma is beckoning the priest not to speak further after the episode of Paraśurāma. Precept is given to worship Rāma after predicting the future of all brothers.

***Rāmabāḷalīlā* by Divāḷībāī**[17]

In continuation of *'Rāmajanmanī Garabīo'*, *Bāḷalīlā* (sports as a child) of Rāma is described in 51 *Garabīs*. Up to *Garabī* 44, the content upto Rāma started to hunt is depicted. There-after there is autobiographical facts of poetess and preaching to devote Rāma. In this work there is vivid depiction of child-psychology and *svabhāvokti* of a child. Alongwith growing up with the age, how he is getting change in his gestures !

"Ghaḍimām Uṃghe ghaḍī becāra būmapāḍī

Uṭhe jī re" (p. 63)

"Āve hāthamāṃ jeje vasta, foḷe ḍhoḷe ji re" (P.64)

(In one moment he is sleeping, within next some three or four moments he may shout out, whatever thing comes in his hand he breaks, he overturns it.) Describing gestures of other brothers says-

17. *Prācīna Kāvyamāḷā*-6, p.62, year of composition is V.S. 1817 approximately.

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"Eka mutarīyā mahārāja, Raya Evo Sukhīo jī re" (p.66)

(one prince has urinated, such happy is the king) One overturns ink-pot, then another breaks the pen, one tears paper etc. is the picture of any family made joyful by any child. Poetess expresses mother's heart in the guise of Rāma's sports as a child. Each *Garabī* has one *Dhruvapada* (Refrain line) each, for example *"chānā nava rahe jī re"* (Does not stop crying). As literature describing Kṛṣṇa's *Bāḷalīlā* started to be created by devotees of Kṛṣṇa likewise līlās (sports) of child Rāma started occupying place in the literature. These *Garabis* full of child affection reminds *Rāmabāḷalīlānāṃ Pado* by Bhālaṇa.

***Rāmavivāha* by Divāḷībaī**[18]

In continuation of *Rāmabāḷalīla* poetess composes 77 *Garabīs* describing Rāma's marriage. These works pertaining to *Rāmāyaṇa* by Divaḷibāī are of *Padamāḷā* type.[19]

After Rāma's sacred thread ceremony, there is an episode of Viśvāmitra's arrival starting from there, the content upto Rāma's marriage party returned to Ayodhyā is interwoven. The special attractive feature of this poem is the description of customs of marriage ceremony of Gujarat. *Pīṭhī* (fragrant yellow paste applied to bride and bridegroom at the time of marriage), lodging for marriage party, horse of a bridegroom, marriage songs, carrying bride by maternal uncle in marriage pandal etc. are depicted emotively. In Gujarat there is striking vigourous exchange of songs between the party of bride and party of bridegroom in which there is figurative accusation on each other. By interweaving the same in *Garabī*, the poetess adds characteristic of Gujarati people in the Rāmāyaṇa Ladies of bridegroom party which sing

"Mārā chokarā hatā sujāṇa rāṇie chetaryā
re lola" (p.96)

"Nava cāle janakanuṃ Āṃya rāṇie chetaryā
re lola"

(My sons were intelligent, the queen has cheated them -

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18. *Prācīnā Kāvyamāḷā*-6, p.77.

19. There are two kinds of *Pada*, one is purely lyric and second is narrative lyric. In second kind one *pada* being short for narration, the content started to spread from one *Pada* to many *Padas*. Moreover common people may not be satisfied with prolonged musical tune of one *Bhajana* or series of names like Hariścandra, Naḷa etc. in one *Pada* or one story which can be accommodated in one small *Pada*. Therefore to satisfy love for variety of common people, Narasiṃha Mehtā himself had started to tell the story in many *padas* taking content from the *Bhāgavata* and other Purāṇas. (*Madhyakāḷanā Sāhityaprakāro* by Candrakanta Mehta, p.184)

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Janaka has no voice here, the queen has cheated them)

Ladies from the bride-party reply-

"Suṇī bolyāṃ Janakanāṃ nāra Daśaratha
bhoḷā re lola" (p.96)
"Maḷī traṇe nārio kalāṃṭha, Daśaratha bhoḷā
re lola"

(On hearing this, queen of Janaka spoke that Daśaratha is very simple. All three queens gathered are cunning, Daśaratha is very simple.)

The kings dazed on seeing the physical charm of Rāma speak mutually. We are beguiled by inviting in the name of choice-marriage otherwise it was fixed to get her married with Rāma. In this we get the picture of mass-phychology.

Rāmarājyābhiṣekasamenāṃ Dhoḷa[20] **by Divāḷībāī**

After saying what has sung upto now, the poetess, depicts starting from the description of married life of Rāma and his brothers upto the content of Sītā scolding the moon not to end the night by walking slowly in 103 *Dhoḷa.* Sītā knows that on the next day Rāma is not going to get the kingdom because *Devas* want to get the mission of killing Rāvaṇa fulfilled. Going in the royal assembly the king asks *Brahmins, Vaiśyas, Śūdras* for their opinion about coronation of Rāma, reminds Rāvaṇa of *'Rāvaṇa-Mandodarī saṃvāda'* by Śāmaḷa in which he asks for the opinion to the people of 18 castes whether to return Sītā to Rāma or not ? We find here the polity of that period in which the subject's opinion is sought for in regard to whom to enthrone. Rich merchants think to present embroidered scarf and turban as a gift to Rāma at the time of coronation. We find here social customs of the then society. On the previous day of coronation Sītā asks Rama about Sari of what colour, she should put on, and what type of dress he should put on etc. We find a picture of woman's nature in it. Divāḷībāī narrates merry-making reality by bringing contemporary colours at the cost of characters of the Purāṇas. *"koī to jhamrukho ṭaṅgāve" koi nāriyelāṃ bhaṅgāve* (some people hang guava, some people break coconuts). In these lines joy of the subject is expressed. We may expect that it would be described in the poem upto the episode of Rāma going to forest but the poetess ends the poem there only, leaving aside to describe that day's sad incident wishing the Sun may not rise because that day would be rising bad.

All these works are written in continuation of the story and we find references mentioned in the poem. In the poem composed in the form of small *padas* of 3 or 4 lines there is simplicity and lucidity. Moreover, there is an inclination towards narration of social tradition of Gujarat and social psychology.

20. *Prācina Kāvyamāḷā*-6, p.100. Songs sung on the auspicious occasions are known as *Dhavala-Dhoḷa* songs (*Gujarātī Sāhityano Itihāsa*-2, p.36).

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***Sītājīnī kañcalī* by Kṛṣṇābāi**[21]

The poetess hailed from Vadanagar and was *nāgara* by caste. This work is available in *'Gujarātī Kāvyadohana'* on page 481 in the name of anonymous poet. It is possible that poetess's name might not have been available on account of last pages of the manuscript being torn-off. The year of composition is not traced. The content from Rāma going to forest upto Sītā is brought back after killing Rāvaṇa is described. In 93 couplets keeping this line *"Ho ramatāṃ raḍha lāgī re"* (obstinacy addicted to [Sītā] while playing) as a refrain line, the poetess has given dialogues between Rāma-Sītā, Sītā-Lakṣmaṇa and Sīta-Rāvaṇa. An attractive feature of this poem is the narration of woman's nature. Obstinacy of the king has to submit before the obstinacy of the woman and the result of which calamity comes, is depicted in dialogues. The skill in dialogues reminds *'Rāvaṇa-Mandodarīsaṃvāda'* by Śrīdhara and Śāmaḷa.

***Sītāne Sāsare Vaḷāvavā Viṣe* or *Sītā Svayaṃvara* by Kālidāsā**[22]

According to *Gujarātī Sāhitya Kośa*-1 the poet flourished in the second half of the 18th century. Hailed from Vasāvaḍa (Saurashtra) *Vadanagarā Nāgara* by caste the poet gives the name *'Sītāsvayaṁvara'* to the work, otherwise the content is of after *'Svayaṁvara'*, therefore the title given in *Gujarātī Kāvyadohana 'Sītāne Sāsare Vaḷāvavā Viśe'* is more appropriate. The year of composition is *Saṁvat* 1832. This work is of *Ākhyāna* type starting from the description of preparation of going with marriage-party after Rāma-Sītā's marriage upto the content of the reaching of marriage-party to Ayodhyā. It's *kaḍvā* type is distinct one. Usually there are 3 parts of *Deśī Kaḍavā, Mukhabandha* suggestive of *Rāga, Ḍhāḷa* and *Valaṇa* or *Ūthalo.* In *Mukhabandha* name of the *Rāga* of the whole *kaḍavā,* is given. In *Ḍhāḷa,* main episode is narrated and at the end, there is summing up in *valaṇa* or *Ūthalo.* Here in this poem we find *valaṇa* and *Ūthalo* to be different and that's too in the beginning.

Valaṇa- *"jāna sāthe to karīne taiyārījī*
ghera padhāryāṃ Janakakumārījī
Sāthe traṇe benaḍī sārī jī, Jananī nayaṇe te
varase Vārījī
Ūthalo- "Jananī nayaṇe Vārī Varase, thayā
gadgad kaṇṭha (p.314)
Teḍī cālyāṃ Sāsare, Farī maḷavānī
Utkaṇṭhā" (p.314)

(With all preparations, Janakakumārī came home with marriage-party. With her, there

21. *Bṛhat Kāvyadohana*-1, p.885.
22. *Gujarātī Kāvyadohana,* p.314.

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were three sisters who were noble. From eyes of mother tears are showered. *Ūthalo* Tears are showered from mother's eyes, throats are choked with emotions carrying her to father-in-law's house, anxious to meet again) Thereafter the content is described in *Rāga Dhanāśrī* and at the end *Pūrvachāyo* is found in *phalaśruti* -

"Karuṇāsāgaranā rasamāṃhe magan thaīne
jhilejī
Durmāraga na paḍe paga teno, jeṇīpera ratha
vaṇacilejī (p.317)
Pūrvachāyo- cilāvaṇa cāle nahi bhūtalamāṃ
rathacakra
tema vasame koī vāḷī na śake, kaḷiyugamāṃ
kaiṃ vakra"

(He who having pleased gains the essence from the ocean of mercy he will never go out of line in life like a chariot runs off the track. In Kali-age whatever is crooked, nobody can make it straight except *kathā. Kathā* can make the track straight.)

This work is remarkable from the point of view of experiment of *valaṇa* and *Ūthalo* to-gether in the beginning and *Pūrvachāyo* at the end. This style is rare. The description of marriage - party of Rāma is figurative.

"Jāna Vaimāntaṇī per cālī ghamaghamatī
ghugharamāḷajī (p. 315)
Laṭakaṃtā aṭakaṃtā cāle, hāthī te hārohārajī"

(Marriage-party is going like a celestial self-moving chariot on which number of bells are tinkling. Elephants are walking in line moving and stopping gracefully)

We see the then social condition in advice given to Sītā by her mother. We can imagine any mother giving such advice to a daughter in the society of Gujarat at the time of the farewell of the marriage party.

"Sāsunuṃ mukha rākhajo ruḍī
Karajo śvasuranī sevājī (p.315)"
"jeṭha jeṭhāṇīne diyara derāṇī, naṇadīne
namatāṃ rahiyejī
mukha avaguṇa sāsariyāṃ kerā
kaṃtha āgaḷa nava kahiyejī"

(O my good daughter ! obey the word of mother-in-law; serve your father-in-law. Pay respect to your elder brother-in-law and his wife and also to your sister-in-law. Do not speak ill of your-in-laws before your husband.)

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***Rāmavivāhanā śalokā* by Prabhurāma**[23]

At the end of this poem the information we get is that Prabhurāma of Sāherā of 27 *tālukās* is the composer of this poem. With this we get the year of composition V.S. 1834. Therefore we can say that the poet existed in 1778 A.D.

The word *'saloka'* is derived from *'Śloka'* and the plural of the word is *'śalokā'*. Such *'śalokās'* are recited at the time of half-marriage ceremony among-*kaṇabīs* of Luṇāvāḍā. Vallabha Bhaṭṭa also has written *'Laṅkānā śalokā*. In two *śalokās* engagement ceremony of Rāma is described. Sītā is writing letter to Rāma confidentially that you come. *"Kāgada dīṭhe te Vahelā padhāro"* (On seeing the letter you come quickly) (p.191) *Kāpaḍīveśe Rāma paravariyā* (Rāma went in the guise of pilgrim). Such are the changes the poet has made. Female elephant comes to pour out pitcher in *svayaṁvara*-choice-marriage ceremony. It stops before Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Maid servant goes to Sītā and talks to her about this. Sītā's wish is *"Bāṇa caḍāve mujane vare"* (he will merry with me who will show the skills of archery). Therefore, the condition of choice-marriage is put forth by Sītā and not by Janaka.

***Sītājīno Sohelo* by Tulasīdāsa**[24]

The poet seems to be of the tradition of Jīvaṇadāsa of Udādharma *Saṁpradāya* (*Udā* cult). In this work alongwith episode of Sītā's choice-marriage, there is description of Rāma's engagement including a part of the heading *'Sonānuṃ Patra'*, having divisions like *Ḍhāḷa, cāla, valaṇa* etc. We find composition in 58 lines of *Deśī Dhoḷa*. Let us see the description of the preparation of *Sītā Svayaṁvara* (Sītā's choice-marriage) -

"Tammaka Toraṇa bāṃdhīā, Kaṃkotarī Lakhāva re
Janarakhe māhājaṅga māṃḍio copāsa vadhāmaṇī
jāī (p.159)

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23. *Prācīna Kāvyavinoda*-1, Ed. C.V. Ravala. *'Saloko'* is derived from Sanskrit word '*śloka* thus-*'saloka', śaloka', 'saloko', 'śaloko'*. This word is used for the compostion of versified praise of bravery in the medieval period. There is a custom of reciting *'śalokā'* at the time of marriage festival etc. among many castes. At that time in lines of alliteration eulogical songs are sung in public. One person recites one line harmoniously and from the opposite side word of consent is sung with raised voice, such is the style in it. (*Gujarātī Sāhityano Itihāsa*-2P.35).

24. Gujarāta Vidyā Sabhā, Ahmedabad Ms. No.542E. Another work namely *'Jānākī Vivāha'* or *Rāmajīno Vivāha'* in the name of the poet of the same name is available of which the year of composition *Saṁvat* 1857 is recorded. From these two which is composed first is the question and it remains unreplied because we do not get the year of composition of this work.

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Sītājīnā maṇḍapa racīā mokalatā kanakathaṃba
Viśāla re
Jālī Jharukhāṃ gokhabārī tāṃ jadīāṃ che ratanaparavalāṃ"

(wreath of flowers and auspicious leaves having hung, invitation cards are being written, Janaka has created loud uproar, good news are spread everywhere, marriage pendals for Sītājī were erected, large golden pillars are sent, jewels and corals are affixed in windows and balconies) with description of gift *"Paṭhaṃṇano nahipāra re* (p.161) (There is no end of dowries) the poet mentions about the custom of dowry.

***Rāmajīno Vivāha (Jānakī Vivāha)* by Tulasīdāsa**

This work of *Garabī* form starts from Daśaratha being invited by writing an invitation letter. Janaka provokes when no body dares to break the bow, the poet describes the wrath of Lakṣmaṇa.

"Ā avanī ne dhanuṣa tārū sarve bolu pāṇī re (p. 65)
Ābhāmaṇḍala foḍī nākhu kācā kumbha-jevuṃ re"

(I will dip this earth and your bow. I will break down the cosmic world like a raw pot.) Rāma makes him understad by making sign. When marriage party comes mother-in-law welcomes bride with *poṃkaṇāṃ* (four things presented to bride and bridegroom at the time of wel-come namely yoke, pestle, churning rod and spindle) not only that but *"Ke mukha narakhīne tāṇā nāka"* (seeing the face, mother-in-law pulls the nose of bridegroom) this custom is also included.

***Sītājīnābāramāsa* by Rāmaiyā**[25]

The poet flourished up to 1836 A.D. The scribal year is 1841 A.D. approximately. This work is known as *'Jānakījīnā Mahinā'* also. The poem is of *Bāramāsī* type. Mostly these poems are season-poems in which changes in seasons in every month were described and intensity of gradually increasing pang of seperation was depicted. Elements of the nature were used as stimulating element. In description of eleven months pang of separation is described and in the twelfth month or if additional month is taken into account, in the thirteenth month meeting is achieved. In this work seperation of Sīta from Rāma is depicted. The seperation starts from the month of *Kārataka* and in the month of *Āso*, Rāma built a bridge on the sea upto that taking the shelter of Sītā, the condition of *Proṣitabhartṛkā* (A woman whose husband has gone out of the headquarters) is described. *"Sakhī Fāgaṇamahine Fūla dīse ghaṇāṃ raḷiyāmaṇāṃ jeno piyu gayo pardeśa fūlo kenā kāmnāṃ"* (p. 778) (O

25. *Bṛhat Kāvyadohana*-5, p.777, *Gujarāt Vidyāsabhā* Ms. 604 and 1348.

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friend ! In the month of *Fāgaṇa*, flowers are looking very beautiful. What is the use of flowers whose husband has gone out of the station ?)

"Sakhī Eka andhārī rāta bīji camake dāminī
jeno piyu gayo paradeśa seja śā kāmanī" (p.779)

(O friend! on one side there is a dark night, on the otherside there is a flash of lightening, what is the use of bed whose husband has gone out of the station ?)

"Sakhī bharyāṃ nadīnāṃ nīra Śrāvaṇa Varase Saravaḍe
Mārā bhīṃje navaraṅga cīra āṃkhe āṃsuḍāṃ zare" (P.779)

(O friend! waters of the river are in abundance. My newly coloured silken garments become wet, tears are coming from my eyes.)

In all 12 months Sītā neither describes the misery of *Aśokavana* nor she mentions about Rāvāṇa.

In the work *'Rāmacandrajīnā Mahinā'* by Morāra, Sītā is expressing her grief before Hanumāna while here she is expressing the same before her female friend. There is no invocation of deity or a prayer of the God at the commencement as what Dvārakādāsa of the 17th century has done in *'Sītāvirahanā bāramāsa'*. In the poem, there is direct beginning of the content.

***Rāmakathānāṃ Pada* by Thobhaṇa**[26]

The poet flourished upto the year 1769 A.D.[27] Eight *Padas* are available in which *'Hanumān Garabī'* of this poet is included. *Padas* uttered by Kauśalyā -

"Āja avināśī rore mahiā keche kāle vanamāṃ Jājo"
(p.2 Ms.676, p.1 Ms.1308)

(O immortal ! stay today, mother says that you should go to forest tomorrow)

"Rūḍā Rāmadhaṇī Havadhapuramāṃ róre rūḍe raṅge" (p.2)

(O good Lord Rāma ! you stay in Havadhapurī with pleasures.)

In *"Hiḍo haraṇa karī niśācarano naeka teṇīvāra"* (p.7)

(the leader of *Rakṣasas* went away that time after abduction) There are episodes of abduction of Sītā and Sītā's lementation. In subsequent *pada*, searching of Sītā by Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa and the grief of Rāma are depicted. Starting from *"Rāma-Lakhamaṇajī dhaśīne*

26. *Farbas Gujarātī Sabhā*, Mumbai, Ms. No. 676, ii *Bhāratiya Vidyābhavan*, Mumbai, Ms.No.1308.

27. *Gujarātī Sāhitya Kośa*-1, p.161.

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nīkalā re mandira bāra" (p.8) (Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa came out from the house rushing) upto bestowing the kingdom to Sugrīva all episodes are interwoven. In subsequent *pada* idleness of Sugrīva and upto the story of his coming to help Rāma all episodes are depicted *"Ganāna goṣṭimāṃ varkhārata vītā ne Āśo āvo"* (p.10) (In dialogue full of knowledge, the monsoon was over and the month *Āso* started). Thereafter there is an episode of searching of Sītā by Hanumān *"Dāśa Haramānajī śuddha Sītānī letā kapi cāra malyā"* (p.11) (Four monkeys met when servant Hanumān was searching Sītā) in which episodes upto coming out from the cave are described. Subsequent *pada* is of the narration of Hanumān returning after searching Sītā and the joy of monkeys. Rāma comes to Laṅkā, Vibhīṣaṇa goes to Rāvaṇa to make him understand, Rāvaṇa becomes obstinate etc. are narated in *Pada "Āvāṃ Bhabhīkhaṇajī Rāma Padharāṃ Jāṇī Rāvaṇa pāṃse* (knowing that Rāma has come, Vibhīṣaṇa came to Rāvaṇa)" At the end of *Padas,* poets' name is given thus *"Dāśa Thobhaṇanā sundara Sāmī"* (Hansome lord of servent Thobana, p.11) Saṃmī *Thobaṇanā lejo Jāṇī* (p.8) (Let you know O lord of Thobhaṇa !) *"Sāmī Thobaṇanā Rājā Rāma"* (King Rāma is the Lord of Thobhaṇa) (p.10).

Raṇachoḍa's *Rāmacandrano Hiṇḍoḷo*[28]

In this work *līlās* of *Kṛṣṇa* have been sung and the hero of this short *Pada* is Kṛṣṇa and not Rāma. Starting from

' *'Anandanandane āṅgaṇe gaī jovāne jo*
Bāṃdho hiṇḍoḷo bāraṇe jhūle jādavarāya"

(she went to see in the courtyard of Ānandananda. In the outside the swing is roped on which Jādavarāya is swinging) *līlās* of child Kṛṣṇa are described. Still however the heading of the work is *'Rāmacandrano hiṇḍoḷo'.* The poet might have kept in mind the unity of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. The scribe might have committed mistake in giving the title or after writing the title *'Rāmacandrano Hiṇḍoḷo',* it is possible that he might have written another work.

***Aśvamedha* by Dhīra[29]**

The poet flourished in the second half of the 18th century. He died in 1825 A.D. on the 15th day of the first half of *Āso.* He hailed from Goṭhaḍā near Sāvalī of Vadodara district. This work *'Ásvamedha'* by Dhīrā, famous for his *'Kāfīs'* and who has written poems of *Jñāna* and *vairāgya* is a narrative and available in incomplete form at 60th chapter.[30]

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28. Dahilaxmi Library, Nadiad, Ms. No. 10/1. The year of composition is not available.
29. *Gujarāta Vidyāsabhā,* Ahmedabad Ms. 787.
30. *Gujarātī Sāhitya Kośa* 1, p.200.

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Janamejaya is asking to Jaimini about the battle of Lava-Kuśa. Jaimini starts to describe from Rāma's returning to Ayodhyā after killing Rāvaṇa. From *Adhyāya* 27 upto 35 *Rāmakathā* from *Mahābhārata* is described. The picture of Lakṣmaṇa fainting on hearing about abandonment of Sītā is endowed with simile.

"Murchā khāī prathavī paḍa jāṇe bhāṃgo
kadalī khāmbha (no page no.)"

(He fell down on the ground after fainting just like a trunk of *kadalī* is broken.)

Hanumāna's ferocious form at the time of war -

"Paravata āṇī feṃko pāḍha jhālīne jhike motāṃ
jhāḍa"

(Throwing rocks and hills, throwing big trees dashingly)

In *Adhyāya* 33, usage of rare metre *Pāghaḍī* is noteworthy -

"Lavakuśa Lakhamaṇjī ladant bhīr joḍa bhupāla
bhaḍant"

(Lavakuśa and Lakṣmaṇa are fighting, both brothers are partners in fighting against Lakṣmaṇa).

***Rāmacaritanā Mahina* by Jīvaṇa**[31]

No information is available regarding the poet or the year of composition. It is copied by a scribe in *Saṁvat* 1943 and it is incomplete in the beginning. Being a *Bāramāsī* type poem mostly there may be 12 or 13 *Garabīs*. In this manuscript first 8 *Garabīs* are missing. The content starts from the 9th *Garabī* in which Hanumān having reached Laṅkā gives the ring to Sītā. Here there is no description of grief of separation of hero and heroine, only main episodes of life of Rāma are described. On every month the story goes further. The poet has made an effort to narrate the whole Rāma story within the description of 12 months.

"Bhādarave Bhabīkṣaṇa dāsane Rāmajie āpu rāja" (p.14)

(In the month *Bhādaravā*, Rāmajī bestowed the kingdom to servant Vibhīṣaṇa.)

In 13th *Garabī*, after describing coronation of Rāma poet's name, poem's title are given.

***Rāmastuti* by Raghunandana**[32]

No information is available about the year of composition. The poet flourished in the first half of 19th century A.D. His surname was Bhaṭṭa and he hailed from Bhavanagar,

31. *Bharatīya Vidyābhavan*, Mumbai, Ms.No.1023.
32. *Farbasa Gujarātī Sabhā*, Mumbai, Ms.No.106.

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Praśnorā brahmin by caste. He is believed to be a contemporary of poet Mahananda Mehta (alive in 1839 A.D.) The work starts with this line -

"Kara joḍīne karu vinantī sāṃbhaḷajo Raṅguvīra"
(No. page no.)
(I request you with folded hands, hear O ! Raṅguvīra)

There is not only *Rāma's stuti*, but emancipation of Ajāmīla, covering the roof of Nāmadeva etc. are also mentioned. He shows that it is a praise of the God. After *Falaśruti*, there are hymns of praise of Rāma in Sanskrit.

***Sītānī śodhanāṃ Pada* by Ādityarāma**[33]

Some published *padas* regarding Mātājī are available in the name of Ādita, in which there is a line in first *Pada*.

"Aṣṭādaśa Aṣāḍhe re Kṛṣṇapakṣa tratīyāne
Guruvāra re"

(on Thursday of the third day of the second half of the month *of Āṣāḍhha* of eighteenth) which is possible to be *Saṁvat* 1818 or 1819. In the name of Āditarāma, a published *Bhajana* of 4 lines is available and in the name of Ādityarāma some *Garabās, Garabīs* and *Padas* are available. Who are these Ādita, Āditarāma and Ādityarāma we cannot say certainly.[34] The year of composition of this work is not available. Searching of Sītā is described in 4 *Padas* in the manuscript. *"Sugrīvane kahe Rāmajī Karajo Sītānī Pera"* (p.1) (Rāmajī says to Sugrīva that you make a way for Sītā) This is refrain line of *pada* in which there is description of idleness of Sugrīva in helping Rāma and a change in him later on. At the end-

"Āvīne Paraṇāma Karo Kahe Āditarāma"

(coming there he bowed down to Rāma says Āditarāma) In the second *Pada* Rāma is sending Hanumān for searching Sītā, in third *Pada*, episode of Surasā - Hanumān, Hanumān seeing places of residence of Rāvaṇa etc. are described. In the 4th *pada*-

"Laṅkā āvā Hanumānajī Joāṃ chauṭāṃ bajāra
Gokha Chajāṃ Mālīāṃ Joāṃ lākha hajāra" (p.3)

(Hanumānajī came to Laṅkā, he saw squares and markets. He saw balconies, garrets, recesses in a wall in thousands and lacs.)

Thus searching Sītā everywhere in Laṇkā, Hanumān meets Vibhīṣaṇa. Vibīṣaṇa gives informatoin of Sītā to be in the garden. Hanumān sees Sītā crying.

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33. *Farbasa Gujarātī Sabhā*, Ms. No. 87.
34. *Gujāratī Sāhitya Kośa*-1, p.19.

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***Rāmaviraha* by Jadurāma**[35]

The Poet flourished in the first half of the 19th century. It is conjectured that he was devotee of the Goddess, Brahmin by caste and hailed from Ahmedabad. In the name of Judurāmadāsa *'Rāmaviraha'* of 4 *kaḍavās* (published) is available which is possible to be of this poet.[36] The year of composition is not available.

This is an incomplete poem of 4 *kaḍavās* starting with refrain line *'Rāma Vinā Kema rahie Ajoddhā dhāmamāṃ'* (p.302) (How can we live in *Ayodhyādhāma* without Rāma?) upto the description of wave of joy among the subject on returning of Rāma to Ayodhyā one woman is describing the mental condition without Rāma before another female friend in which she accuses the destiny. The word *'Kaḍavuṃ* is used as a title of *'Garabī'*.

Ḍhāḷa (style of singing) is also of a folksong.

"Mā Mujane Kema dīdhī re, kefī Kanthane"
(O mother ! why have you given me to a husband who is drunkard ?)

At the end of every two lines utterance of *'Jo'* with a long and raised voice is also suggestive of *'Garabī'*. Female friend is describing how miserable is the mental condition of her own and of Bharata. Thereafter Bharata's practice of penance and his conveying of message to Rāma to return earlier are described. Golden deer, abduction of Sītā, Śabarī episode, Jaṭāyu episode etc. are described in each one line. She also asks who is speaking what about Bharata. Thereafter immediately war with Rāvaṇa, about Vālī Sugrīva building a bridge on the ocean are mentioned. After that the Joyous atmosphere of Ayodhyā on coming of Rāma after killing Rāvaṇa is described.

What was the condition of animals after Rāma went to forest -

"cāro na care menā popaṭa pāṃjare : (p.303)
Hastī ghoḍā jhūre te joyuṃ kema jāya jo
Durabala thaī gayāṃ netramāṃ nīra āvīyāṃ,
Rāmavijoge ghāsa anna na khāya jo"
(Myna, parrot do not eat food in their cages. How could one bear the elephants, horses pining, getting weak and weeping ? In separation from Rāma they do not eat grass or food.)

Speaking about her own mental condition -

"Uṃgha nā āve anna nā bhāve he sakhī (p.303)
Maśāṇa jevāṃ mandīra khāvā dhāya jo

35. *Prācina Kāvya Sudhā*-4, Ed., C.V. Ravala.
36. *Gujarātī Sāhitya Kośa* -1, p.332.

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Jadurāmadāsanā svāmī velā padhārajo
Bheṭo karyāthī antaradāza holāya jo"

(O friend! I do not get sleep, I do not like to eat. Houses are terrifying like cemetery. O master of servant Jadurāma ! come early. The fire of the heart is quenched on meeting.)

Research scholar and editor notes — "These *Kaḍavāṃs* have been noted down from Rukṣmaṇībena, daughter of well-known Śambhurāma Śāstrī of Luṇāvāḍā who had talked in Sanskrit for long time with late Dr. Bularasāheba. The last *kaḍavuṃ* is incomplete as she could not remember further." It may be conjectured from this note that this poem would have been popularly sung among ladies.

***Rāmāyaṇanā candrāvaḷā* by Jekṛṣṇadāsa**[37]

Only information we get about poet is that his father's name was Jīvana.

"Vaikuṇṭha candrāvalā cha te jīvanano
Suta gāa (No page No.)
Ūthalo-Jivanano Suta gāa gavaene Karapā tene
Kālakānī thāe
je koa śāṃbhale nara ne nāra
tene kejo je je je Ambāa Rāma"

(Son of Jīvana is singing *candrāvaḷā.* He who sings and makes others sing would be graced by the Goddess Kālakā. Men and women, who hear this, convey to them je *Ambe je Rāma*)

The year of composition of this work is not available. This work consisting of 35 *candravaḷās,* episodes of Rāma's forest-dwelling are interwoven. Dwelling in Pañcavaṭī, Deer episode, abduction of Sītā, searching for Sītā, meeting with Jaṭāyu-Kabandha-Śabarī, such main episodes, the poet interweaves. After the episode of 'Śabarī's emancipation, the poet finishes the content of the poem.

There is *Ūthalo* after one *candrāvaḷā* of two lines in which second half of a couplet is the first half of *Ūthalo* and the first line after *Ūthalo* is as *Dhruvapada* (refrain line). For example an episode after abduction of Sītā.

"Rāma Lakhamaṇa banne āviā
tāre na dise Sītā nāra (No page no.)
Kara ghase ne śīśa pachāḍe
na-aṇe āṃśunī dhāra

37. Dahilaxmi Library, Nadiad, Ms. No.12. It can be said that Metre *candrāvaḷā* is a mixture of *copāyā* and *caranākuḷa* (*Bṛhat Piṅgala,* R.V. Pathak, pub. Secretary, Gujarātī Sāhitya Parisada, Bhāratīya Vidyā bhavana, Mumbai-7, 1955, Edition-1, p.336.

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Ūthalo Na-aṇe āṃśunī dhāra tāṃ jhare
ne Rāma Lakhamana banne rūdana kare
Divasa cantane kare vicāra-
Rāma Lakhamaṇa banne āviā
Tārea na dīse Sītā nāra"

(when both Rāma Lakhamaṇa came they did not see Sītā. With tears in eyes, they were rubbing their palms and dashing their heads desparately.

Ūthalo- with tears in eyes Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa were crying. For the whole day they were worrying when both Rāma Lakhamaṇa came they did not see Sītā.)

Thus, here an attempt is made to introduce some of the less-known Gujarātī Ramāyaṇa works pertaining to medieval period, which include *Prabandha*. Diologue-poem, Ākhyāna, Sākhīs, Cāturīs, message-poem, *pada, Garabī, Dhoḷa, Bāramāsī, Stuti, Chandrāvaḷa, Padamālā Ślokas.* Looking to them we find the variety of themes alongwith those of styles. Taking the base of the original *Rāmāyaṇa* text and then adding something new to it these poets made an effort to present novel original works, *Rāmāyaṇas* inspired by *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, in case of translations of *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* etc. (which are not included in this paper) there is no verbatim rendering of the original text. More details and depictions are found in them as in some of the *Ākhyānas* for the depiction of *Rasa.* The special linguistic and thematic features of the medieval period get totally merged with those of the original ones. These works contain important data regarding the social customs prevailing in Gujarāt in those days. We note that poets are inspired by predecessors from the point of view of content as well as of style. Poets express their indebtedness. The great poet like Premānanda is also indebted to predecessors. At the end of the work according to tradition poet's name is written, but informations like self-introduction or the year of composition are not found from the works of many poets. Some works are found anonymous because this literature is not created with consciousness of naming as poet. The aim of the poets seems to explain the duties of an individual, society on the basis of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and by that to propagate the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the path of devotion. *Ākhyānas* based on the *Rāmāyaṇa* were being read collectively. *Padas, Garabis, Dhoḷas* based on the *Rāmāyaṇa* were sung indivudually in every house. In this way this literature was propagated and spread automatically in a natural way. Alongwith maintaining didactic tone these poets often make significant changes in the original text for making the story more interesting which form important feature of the medieval Gujarati literature. These changes might have been done consciously or out of some slip of memory. But an attempt of these less literate poets to render the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* into *Gujarātī* with the only purpose of benefit of others is really laudable and it is noteworthy as a process of unconscious contribution towards the literary progress.

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૩૬૩	વડોદરા એક અધ્યયન - પ્રો. રમણલાલ નાગરજી મહેતા (૧૯૮૭)	૪૪.૦૦
૩૬૪	મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ ત્રીજા - (સ્વ.) પ્રો. હસિત હ. બૂચ (૧૯૮૮)	૪૯.૦૦
૩૬૫	નાભાજીકૃત ભક્તમાલના ઐતિહાસિક ભક્તો-એક અધ્યયન - શ્રી મૂલશંકર હી. કેવલિયા (૧૯૮૮)	૪૪.૦૦
૩૬૬	લેસર (પરમતેજ) - શ્રી પદ્મકાન્ત ર. શાહ (૧૯૯૦)	૪૮.૦૦
૩૬૮	અર્વાચીન સંસ્કૃત સાહિત્યનો ઈતિહાસ - (અનુ.) એ. જે. રાવલ અને વી. એસ. લેલે	૧૮૮.૦૦
૩૬૯	મંજુલવિમર્શ - શ્રી જે. પી. ઠાકર (૧૯૯૨)	૨૩૬.૦૦
૩૭૦	પ્રાણવહસ્રોતોના રોગો : શ્વાસ-દમ - વૈદ્ય મણિભાઈ બ્રહ્મભટ્ટ (૧૯૯૫)	૧૭૬.૦૦
૩૭૧	વડોદરાનાં મંદિરો - કુ. મંજુલા એમ. સોની (૧૯૯૫)	૬૮.૦૦
૩૧૭	આહારવિજ્ઞાન - (પુનઃ મુદ્રણ) ડૉ. જયશંકર ધ. પાઠક અને (સ્વ.) અનંતરાય મ. રાવળ (૧૯૯૦)	૬૦.૦૦
૩૭૨	ભવાઈ : સ્વરૂપ અને લક્ષણો - કૃષ્ણકાંત ઓ. કડકિયા (૧૯૯૬)	૧૯૩.૦૦
૩૭૩	શ્રીમદ્ ઉપેન્દ્રાચાર્યજી - ડૉ. લવકુમાર મ. દેસાઈ (૧૯૯૬)	૧૯૫.૦૦
૩૭૪	નાભાજીકૃત ભક્તમાલના ઐતિહાસિક ભક્તો - એક અધ્યયન ભાગ ૨ - શ્રી મૂલશંકર હી. કેવલિયા (૧૯૯૮)	૧૦૬.૦૦

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MEDIEVAL JAIN ACCOUNTS OF MT. GIRNAR AND ŚATRUÑJAYA: VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE SACRED REALMS

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I. Introduction

Modern scholars have become accustomed to the idea that there are often multiple perceptions of sacred place and that there exists a plurality of possible experiences of both the pilgrimage journey and the sacred site itself.[1] That this should also prove to be true of a medieval Jain pilgrimage site is perhaps in itself not terribly surprising. What is more surprising, however, is how radically different are the Mt. Śatruñjayas and the Mt. Girnars of medieval Jain literature. Both mountains were the subject of a wide variety of writing that may be broadly divided into two categories. In one group there are texts that were written about specific pilgrimages to Girnar and Śatruñjaya and about the pious donations and restorations of temples there. In the second group are the miracle story collections detailing the wonders of Śatruñjaya and providing accounts of the origin and special qualities of the sites.

In this first group of texts which are related to actual pilgrimages fall the numerous short hymns that were mainly written by monks about their own experiences at the site. Such hymns or poems written on pilgrimage exist in many medieval vernacular languages.[2]

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1. For works on pilgrimage see for example William Powell, "Literary Diversions of Mount Jiuhua", in John Einarsen, *The Sacred Mountains of Asia,* London: Shambhala, 1995, pp.22-26; Alan Grapard, "Flying Mountains and Walkers of Emptiness: Sacred Space in Japanese Religions", *Ibid*, pp.36-42, and James Robson, "Polymorphous Space: The Contested Space of Mt. Nanyue", *Ibid*, pp.121-124. On Jain pilgrimage see my essay, "Jain Pilgrimage: In Memory and Celebration of the Jinas", in Pratapaditya Pal, *The Peaceful Liberators: Jain Art From India,* London: Thames and Hudson, 1995, pp.63-77 and bibliography. An excellent overview of the history of Śatruñjaya based on traditional sources is given by Munirājaśrī Nyāyavijayajī (Tripuṭī), *Jaina Tīrthono Itihāsa, Śrī Cāritra Smāraka Granthamālā,* no.38, Ahmedabad, 1949.
2. I will be looking at poems from the *Jaina Stotra Saṃcaya,* parts 2 and 4, edited Lābhasāgaragaṇi in the *Āgamoddhāraka Granthamālā,* Vol.39, Surat, 1959 and 1965 and the poems included in the *Samayasundara-kṛti-kusumāñjali,* ed. Mahopādhyāya Vinayasāgara, Nahta Brothers, Calcutta, 1957.

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Also in this group should be included the longer and more elaborate poetic accounts of the pilgrimages of the famous lay patrons of the Jain faith, only sometimes written by monks, and primarily praising the activities of the wealthy lay community. The best known of these texts are two Sanskrit poems about the pilgrimage of the 13th century Jain ministers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, the *Kīrtikaumudī* of Someśvaradeva and the *Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana* of Arisiṃha.[3] We might also include in this group inscriptions recording various donations at the site and giving details of the rituals of installation of images and consecration of temples. There were in addition poems written to celebrate the periodic restoration of the temples at Mt. Śatruñjaya, for example the *Nābhinandanajinoddhāraprabandha* of Kakkasūri.[4] Shorter texts, often in the vernacular, similarly recount the building of temples and dedication of images.[5] All of these texts, I will suggest, deal with one Mt. Śatruñjaya or one Mt. Girnar, which was visible to all its devotees, marked by rivers and mountain peaks, and by gorgeous temples and images.

The second group of texts is represented by two important documents of Jain pilgrimage, that are themselves very different types of texts. The first, the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* of the monk Jinaprabhasūri, is a compendium of short accounts of the many Jain holy sites that the author judged important. It was written in 1333 A.D., mostly in Prakrit, although it does include short sections in Sanskrit. While most of the entries are in prose, there are also some verse selections. Many of the different sections provide a summary history of a site, from its origin at the beginning of Jain sacred history through its development into a temple center and often including an account of its destruction at Muslim hands.[6] The second text, the *Śatruñjaya Kalpa*, is important mainly for the commentary to the text that was

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3. These texts are edited by Jinavijaya Muni in the *Singhi Jain Series*, Vol.32, Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, 1960. On the poems and their authors see Bhogilal J. Sandesara, *Literary Circle of Mahāmātya Vastupāla and its Contribution to Sanskrit Literature*, Singhi Jain Series, No. 33, Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, 1953.
4. Ed. Bhagavandās Harakhacamda in the *Śrī Hemacandrācārya Jaina Granthamālā*, 1928.
5. For example the *Revamtagirirāsu* published in *Prācīna Gūrjara Kāvya Saṃgraha*, ed. Shri C.D. Dalal., G.O.S. Oriental Institute, Baroda, reprinted 1978.
6. The text is edited by Jinavijaya Muni in the *Singhi Jain Series*, No. 10, Singhi Jain Jñānapīṭha, Śāntiniketan, 1934. It has recently been translated into French by Christine Chojnacki, Publications du Départment d'Indologie, 85, Institut Francais de Pondichery, 1995. John Cort had earlier translated several sections of the text in Phyllis Granoff, ed. *The Clever Adulteress: A Treasury of Jain Story Literature*, Oakvilie, Mosaic Press, Ontario, 1990, pp.245-290. I have translated some sections in *Speaking of Monks: Religious Biography in India and China*, Oakville, Mosaic Press, Ontario, 1992.

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written by the monk Śubhaśīlagaṇi sometime in the mid-fifteenth century.[7] This commentary, mainly in Sanskrit, contains numerous miracle stories in the vein of a Hindu Purāṇa. The stories were designed to impress the listener with the greatness of Śatruñjaya and its wondrous powers. Both texts also include accounts of the building of the temples at Śatruñjaya and some of the various restorations carried out at various times in history, and thus contain sections that I would place with the texts I described for group I.

In this paper I hope to show that these two groups of texts, the occasional pieces written in connection with actual pilgrimages, and the miracle story collections and traditional histories of pilgrimage sites, at times deal with two fundamentally different Śatruñjayas or Girnars, the one visible, and the other invisible.[8] The monk in his poetry sings of his joy on seeing the Jina in the temples; the panegyrist in his poems describes with considerable visual detail the mountain itself and the various rituals that the pilgrims performed along the way and in the temples. By contrast the histories and miracle story collections on occasion tell about a holy site that no one can see at first and that few ultimately will find, precisely because it is hidden from view.

The *Vividhatīrthakalpa* provides a verbal map for locating hidden treasures, jewels and wells of magical elixir which can turn base substances into gold. Parts of the *Śatruñjaya Kalpa* seem almost a companion piece to this treasure map of the *Vividhatīrthakalpa,* providing in some of its stories a kind of proof for the existence of this hidden realm of Śatruñjaya. In this paper I should like to explore this contrast between the visible and

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7. The text is edited by Lābhasāgaragaṇi in the *Āgamoddhāraka Granthamālā,* No. 41, Ahmedabad, 1969. I have written on some of the accounts of restorations in my article, "The Householder as Shaman: Jain Biographies of Temple Builders", *East and West,* 42, 1992, pp.301-319.

8. The *Śatruñjaya Kalpa* knows both the visible and the hidden topography of Śatruñjaya. It is also worth noting that the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* when it speaks of other holy sites, with the exception of Mt. Girnar, a site closely associated with Śatruñjaya, and Mt. Aṣṭāpada, a site defined by its nearly total inaccessibility to normal mortals, speaks in the language of the visible or exoteric holy site. There would seem to be something peculiar to Śatruñjaya and perhaps by association to Girnar in the Jain religious imagination. Śatruñjaya was associated with alchemy and famous monks who were renowned for their skill in alchemy and magic. See my article, "Jain Biographies of Nāgārjuna: Notes on the composing of a Biography in Medieval India", in Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara, *Monks and Magicians: Religious Biographies in Asia,* Oakville, Mosaic Press, Ontario 1988, pp. 67-99. My discussion in what follows will tend to focus more on Śatruñjaya with some references to Girnar, because of the abundance of written evidence for Śatruñjaya, although the same division between exoteric and esoteric holy site appears in the treatment of Girnar.

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invisible, the directly accessible and the concealed, in the literature that deals with Śatruñjaya and related sites. I shall suggest that the tension between the exoteric holy site as accessible and visible to all and the esoteric holy site as a land that is nearly totally inaccessible, hidden from most and capable of being seen only by the select few with special religious qualifications, is in fact characteristic of many medieval Indian conceptions of sacred place and sacred objects.

I begin my investigation with some brief comments on the "visible" Śatruñjaya and the discourse about the pilgrimage site that depends on its being directly seen and experienced. I proceed from there to a story from the *Śatruñjaya Kalpa* that I think reflects the anxiety about not being able to see the mountain or having to achieve some special status in order to see the mountain. In a third section I turn to the accounts of the hidden Śatruñjaya and its buried treasures. Finally, in a concluding section I try to draw together some of its material with some suggestions for future work.

II. Seeing Śatruñjaya

It is a commonplace of medieval Hindu texts to praise a pilgrimage site by asserting that merely seeing the holy place grants the devotee all of his or her wishes, even the ultimate religious goal of release from *saṃsāra*.[9] Indeed fundamental to the ideology of pilgrimage is a notion that in this degenerate age the only access to god is the easy and ready access provided by the direct vision of the deity in an image at a particular holy place. Thus one medieval Hindu Purāṇa, the *Kapila Purāṇa* devoted to the sacred sites of Orissa tells us,

tatra tattapasā tuṣṭo yuge satye mahīpate/
tretāyāṃ dvāpare cȧiva darśanāt siddhidaḥ svayam//48
kalau ca darśanenaiva siddhido 'haṃ nṛṇāṃ kila/49a

"In the *Satyayuga* and the *Tretā* and *Dvāpara*, pleased by the austerities performed, I grant blessings to those who behold me, O king, but it is well known that in the *Kaliyuga* I grant blessings to men who merely see me and do nothing else." 9.48-49a.[10]

And if just seeing the holy sight produces such merit, then it goes without saying that bathing there and worshipping there must be equally efficacious.

Jains wrote of their own holy places in no less fulsome terms than did their medieval Hindu counterparts. Thus we hear again and again in the *Śatruñjaya Kalpa* that seeing

9. On the importance of "seeing" in Hindu ritual, see, Diana L. Eck, *Darśan: Seeing the Divine Image in India*, Pa: Anima books, Chambersburg, 1981.

10. Edited Pt. Vijay Shankar Tiwari, Bharatīya Vidyālaya, Varanasi, 1977.

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Śatruñjaya destroys misery, while worshipping there ensures that a person will never be reborn in the bad rebirths of hell or among animals (p.4 vs between 50 and 51). A person gains release from seeing and touching the mountain, and all creatures who are born on the mountain eventually attain release (p.20, vs.39). Even predatory animals given to killing each other gain release from seeing the Jina on Śatruñjaya, while a living being is oppressed by the stains of his sins just so long as he has not ascended the mountain and prayed to the Jina there (p.26, verse 24). The *Vividhatīrthakalpa* tells us that the merit of one who feeds the company of monks is indeed great, but the merit of one who has seen Mt. Śatruñjaya and does such pious deeds is inexhaustible (*Kalpa* 1, verse 49). In verse 70 we are told that seeing the image of the first Jina, Ṛṣabhanātha, as soon as one has entered the holy place, brings great joy to a person's eyes (indeed, is like a drink of immortality to fasting eyes). Both of these texts, then, emphasize the merit and joy of seeing the mountain and the Jinas there.

Other medieval Jain texts that describe pilgrimages, real or imagined, similarly stress the virtues of "seeing" the holy site, the Jina and his temple. The *Pāṇḍava Carita,* the version of the Jain *Mahābhārata* written in Sanskrit by the monk Devaprabhasūri sometime before the end of the 15th century A.D., describes the pilgrimage of Arjuna to various Jain holy sites. In this counterpart to the third book of the *Mahābhārata,* Arjuna visits Aṣṭāpada, the very sight of which is said to wipe clean the sins of every person (5.201).[11]

There are also numerous hymns written by medieval monks as they visited various pilgrimage sites. In keeping with this stress on seeing, these poems reflect both the longing to see the Jina(s) and the poet's joy on being able to make the journey to a given pilgrimage place and see a particular image. The poems are explicit in their language; the pilgrim rejoices in seeing the body of the Jina. The poems to Śatruñjaya are not particularly distinctive within this genre of religious writing; in the world of these poems Śatruñjaya like other holy places offers the pious devotee the occasion to come face to face with the Jina. Some of the poems also make clear why Śatruñjaya itself is so special; they tell us that it was the place where many monks in the past had achieved release; indeed it was a place that all the Jinas except Nemi had visited. Bharata, the son of the first Jina, had built the first temple there, and many other wealthy and famous patrons had followed his example. In these glorifications of Śatruñjaya it is its very accessibility, the fact that it was often visited by famous men in the past, that constitutes the sanctity of the place. These writings offer us a picture of Śatruñjaya as a place that was made sacred first by the deeds of past great religious leaders, the Jinas themselves, and then by the monks who practised austerities there throughout the ages, and finally by the many wealthy lay patrons who made there images

11. Edited in the *Kāvyamālā Series,* 93 by Pandit Kedaranatha and Vasudeva Laxmana Shastri Panashikar, Bombay, 1911.

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of the Jinas and built the temples to house them. In these texts to make a pilgrimage is to join this community of honoured monks and lay people whose visits to Śatruñjaya not only celebrated the deeds of the Jinas, but became themselves models for later pilgrims to emulate. We might compare this sense of belonging to a larger group who sought out the sacred site to pronouncements in Hindu *Māhātmya* texts. The *Matsyapurāṇa*, for example, in its description of Vārāṇasī, emphasizes that the site is frequented by gods and *asuras*, by sages desiring release (184.48-49). The new pilgrim is in good company. In all of the texts that speak of those who belonged to this long line of sacred travellers the language of direct accessibility to the sacredness of the site is crucial. It is a language of direct and unimpeded sight of holy place and holy object.

It is worth looking at some of the hymns dedicated to the Jinas at the famous pilgrimage sites to see how strongly they speak of actually "seeing" the Jina. None of my citations comes from hymns specifically to Śatruñjaya, but I would stress that specificity of place does not seem to affect the language of these hymns. I have chosen verses that I felt were most accessible.[12]

1. A hymn to the Jina Nemi on Mt. Girnar by Somasundara (*Jaina Stotra Saṃcaya*, vol.2, no.2)

etāvantam anehasaṃ tvayi vibho yābhūd adṛṣṭe purā
tvatpādābjadidṛkṣayā paramayotkaṇṭhā gariṣṭhā mama/
bhūyo bhūyo iha tvadīkṣaṇavidhau lāvaṇyavārāṃnidhe
dṛṣṭe 'pi tvayi saṃprati pratidinaṃ sā vardhate santatam//3'

"O Lord! For so long I did not see you and I felt a terrible longing to behold your lotus feet. And now as I gaze upon you again and again, O Ocean of Loveliness! now, even though I see you, that very longing only grows in me, greater and greater."

gaṅgā 'gān marumaṇḍale sthalabhuvi prādur babhūvāmbujam
madhye kṣārapayonidheḥ samudabhūt kūpo 'mṛtābhobhṛtaḥ/
taddhvāntaughamaye niśīthasamaye jajñe dineśodayo
yattvaṃ dṛkpatham āgato'si sahasā me'tra kāle kalau //4

12. There are many hymns that are only now being published. Example could well have been taken from the Sanskrit and old Gujarati hymns more recently published in the Pt. Bechardas Doshi Commemoration Volume, *Aspects of Jainology*, vol. II. Edited M.A. Dhaky and Sagarmal Jain, P.V. Research Institute, Varanasi, 1987. See particularly the poem of Śrivijayacandrasūri, "Śrī Raivatācala Caityaparipāṭī" pp.117-120, verses 6 and 7. The famous hymn of the twelfth century Jain monk Hemacandra, the *Vītarāgastotra*, ed. Chandraprabhasāgar, *Śreṣṭhi Devacandra Lālabhāi Jaina Pustakoddhara*, no.95, 1949, in chapter 20 also has several verses that speak of directly seeing the Jina.

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"The Ganges has descended into a desert, and a water lotus has bloomed on dry ground; a well of the sweet drink of immortality has sprung up from the salt ocean, and in the deep darkness of night the sun has arisen; thus it seems, for some how, in these evil days, you have crossed the path of my sight."

śrīneme jagadekanāyaka muhustvāṃ nirnimeṣekṣaṇam
paśyan śyāmatanucchaviṃ jinavara prājyāmṛtaśrīpadam/
prāvṛtkālaghanāghanābhaṃ sāraṅgavadraṅgabhāg
naśyattāpatṛṣābharavyatikaraḥ sadyaḥ prapadye ratim//6

"O Nemi, Sole Lord of the World! As I stare at you with unblinking eyes, at you who are dark in colour and the abode of a beauty that is like an abundance of the drink of immortality, I feel joy as the peacock must feel gazing on a host of dark clouds in the rainy season. Gone from me are pain and thirst and I feel at once the greatest bliss.

bhūyo janmajarāmṛtiprabhṛtikleśormimālākule
bhīme 'smin bhavavāridhau niravadhau majjantam etaṃ janaṃ/
kiṃkartavyatayā vimūḍhahṛdayaṃ hīnaṃ ca dīnāśayam
svāmin svīyatarīsamānanayanaprakṣepataḥ prīṇaya//8

"O Lord, I know not what to do; my mind is confused and I am despondent in my thoughts. Bring joy to me by casting your eyes on me, those eyes that are like a boat to rescue the person who is sinking in the terrifying and boundless ocean of transmigration, buffeted again and again by those waves of suffering, birth, old age and death."

kāle 'smin kalināmake surataruḥ svargāṅgaṇam saṅgataḥ
kāmaṃ kāmagavī na vīkṣaṇapathe 'pyāyāti keṣāṃ kvacit/
naṣṭaḥ kāmaghaṭopi dṛṣṭipadavībhraṣṭaśca cintāmaṇis
teṣām eṣa pade 'sti kim api saṃprati bhavān eva prabho bhūtale//15.

In this degenerate and wicked age, the wishing tree has gone back to heaven and the wishing cow never crosses the path of my sight. The magic pot granting wishes has disappeared and the wishing gem is gone from sight. O Lord, you, more wondrous, have taken their place on earth.

2. A hymn to the Pārśvanātha at Stambhana by Somasundara (*Jaina Stotra Saṃcaya,* vol.2, no.3)

mamādyābhavan netrayugmaṃ pavitraṃ mahādoṣamālātṛṇālīlavitram/
yato dṛṣṭam etadguṇaśreṇipātraṃ tvadīyaṃ mayā bhāgyayogena gātram//6

"Today my two eyes are made pure, for in my good fortune I have seen your body, the vessel of so many wonderful qualities, a scythe to mow down the grass of all my great sins".

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3. A hymn by Samayasundara to the Śitalanātha at Amarasar (Samayasundara-kṛti-kusumāñjali, p.99)

tujha mūrati ho dekhaṃtām prāy ki,
samovasaraṇa mujha sābharai/
jina pratimā ho jina sārikhī jāṇa ki
mūrikha je saṃsau karai.

"Seeing your image is exactly like being in your first preaching assembly. One should look in the image of the Jina as the Jina. Only a fool would doubt this."

In all of these verses, the monk/pilgrim rejoices in seeing the Jina. That it is essential that we can see the Jina and that seeing the Jina is the essence of the pilgrimage experience in these poems is made clear by verse 15 from the hymn to Nemi. Here we have a list of wish-granting objects familiar from Hindu mythology, from the heavenly tree to a wish-granting jewel to the wishing cow. All of these, the poet tells us, are no longer visible to people in this degenerate age (*Kaliyuga*). Only the Jina is here on earth to be seen by us. We learn from these verses that seeing the Jina destroys sin and brings great bliss; in addition being seen by the Jina allows us to cross the ocean of transmigration, that is, to gain release. Hymns to Śatruñjaya share this language. Thus Samayasundara in one hymn lists the Jinas he has seen and the temples he has visited (p.67) and in another hymn expresses his joy on seeing the Jinas (p.74). What is clear, I think, from these verses is that seeing the Jina is the primary goal of the pilgrimage. It should also be clear that these verses reflect the dominant Hindu ideology of pilgrimage and holy site noted earlier from the *Kapila Purāṇa*, that in the degenerate *Kaliyuga*, it is only the god visible at the holy site who can grant a worshipper his or her desires.

The same impression emerges from a reading of the second group of texts I considered as belonging to the same general category as the hymns, the accounts of famous pilgrimages, particularly two poetic accounts of the pilgrimages of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla. While the hymns are mostly first-person statements, these are accounts of a pilgrimage in which the authors did not participate. The *Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana* was written by Arisiṃha during the lifetime of the two ministers, probably sometime between 1222-1242 A.D.[13] The *Kīrtikaumudī* was written by the court poet Someśvara, who was also a contemporary of the two ministers and who wrote as well several inscriptions about Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, two of which were found in the Jain temples at Abu.[14] While we do know that both authors

13. See G. Bühler, "The Sukṛtsaṃkīrtana of Arisiṃha" reprinted from the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXXI, 1902, pp. 477-495, in the edition of the Sanskrit text in the Singhi Jain Series.

14. See Kathavate's "Introduction to the First Edition of the Kīrtikaumudī", p.46 in the edition of the Sanskrit text in the *Singhi Jain Series*.

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were closely associated with the court and thus steeped in courtly culture and Sanskrit literature associated with the medieval court, we know less about their specific religious affiliation. Both were probably not Jains but Hindus, although they were clearly familiar with Jain religious rituals and Jain doctrine, at least that part of the doctrine that outlined the proper behaviour for a Jain householder.[15]

The brothers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla were themselves the subject of many biographies in Sanskrit and in old Gujarati. They became ministers to a powerful Gujarati ruler and were then celebrated in the Jain tradition for their liberal support of the Jain faith, particularly through their building of temples at the major pilgrimage sites in West India, Śatruñjaya, Girnar and Abu. The *Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana* and the *Kīrtikaumudī* celebrate the pilgrimage that the two brothers made to Girnar and Śatruñjaya. These two sites were closely linked in Jain texts and in the actual practice of pilgrimages; many medieval pilgrimages made a route to Śatruñjaya and then on to Girnar. Girnar is associated with the Jina Nemi, the only Jina who was said not to have preached his first sermon on Śatruñjaya. The poems in fact devote more time to the description of Girnar than Śatruñjaya. Girnar is described in much the same language as all sacred mountains in Sanskrit literature, a language rich in visual imagery and hints of erotic pleasure. Thus in the *Kīrtikaumudī* Girnar has gold peaks (9.44); it abounds in minerals or *Dhātus,* substances that often have alchemical and medicinal properties (9.45); its lakes provide sport for the wives of the celestial musicians or Gandharvas. In 9.50 we hear of soft night time breezes which bring pleasure to the divine ladies, who are exhausted after love making and rest in its caves. Wives of the *siddhas,* another class of almost divine beings, mistake the stars for the flowers on the trees, while the moon seems close enough for slightly tipsy ladies to touch. Indeed, the deer on the surface of the moon seems to want to join their drinking party, captivated by their singing (53-54). Almost as an afterthought a Jain presence intrudes upon this paradisiacal and sensuous landscape, when we are told that the mountain has been purified by the presence of the Jina Nemi and now even wild animals have given up their natural enmity to live in harmony (9.60). In the *Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana* too Girnar is described as a heavenly paradise; the six seasons all attend upon the mountain, and we are told that heavenly damsels prefer it to Nandana, the heavenly garden of the god Indra (p.127).

It may seem surprising that a Jain holy site, sanctified by the asceticism and austerities of the Jina, should be described in such richly erotic language, but the literary lineage of

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15. It is probably worth noting that the Jain Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla are said to have worshipped the famous Śiva at Prabhāsa during the course of their pilgrimage to the Jain sites. While religious affiliation was clearly distinguished, it does not seem always to have to precluded close interaction. See *Kīrtikaumudī,* 9.71.

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the description is clear. In the *Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa,* II.54 we are told that Citrakūṭa, the mountain retreat that becomes Rāma's home in exile, was frequented by semi-divine beings like Kinnaras and Nāgas. In II.93.11 again we are told of the Kinnaras who live on the mountain; in 94.5-6 is a description of the different minerals (*dhātus)*, which lend colour to the mountain slopes. There are wild animals who have given up their predatory intentions (94.7). In addition, Citrakūṭa is the setting for various erotic sports. The Kinnaras make love on its slopes (94.12), and here and there can be seen the beds of lovers (94.24). There is a fragrant breeze (94.14), and at night the plants glow (94.21). Citrakūṭa is better than the abode of the God of wealth, Kubera, or the heaven of Indra; it is even to be preferred over the magical land of the Uttara Kurus (94.26).

The parallels to Mt. Girnar of the Jain poems require little comment; both are mountain-paradises, inhabited by semi-divine beings, perfect settings for love making and delighting all the senses with the brilliant minerals, cool breezes, flowers and streams and ponds. Kālidāsa had described Kailāsa in similar language in the *Kumārasaṃbhava;* in chapter 1 verse 10 we are told of herbs that glow at night, to light up the love sports of the forest- dwelling couples; the mountain itself is described as the source of all jewels (verse3), while its caves provide shelter for couples in their pursuit of pleasure. The *Matsyapurāṇa* describes the Himālaya in very much the same terms; the mountain is the abode of Kinnaras and Gandharvas (117.8; 117.9); it is filled with jewels (117.14-15) and can be reached only by the great (117.15). Its very sight destroys all sins (117.16).[16]

Other mountains were similarly described in Sanskrit literature. The Kashmiri author Dāmodaragupta in his *Kuṭṭanīmata, The Advice of the Bawd,* a text devoted to the very secular life style of the courtesan, described Mt. Abu. The mountain has cool springs and is frequented by Vidyādharas. In a verse that might even have provided the source for the similar verse in the *Kīrtikaumudī* we hear that the ladies mistake the stars for blossoms on the trees and try to pluck them.[17] Dāmodaragupta belongs to the second half of the eight century A.D. He thus predates the popularity of Mt. Abu as a Jain pilgrimage site. One cannot assert with any certainty either that Someśvara knew of Dāmodaragupta's work or that he borrowed directly from it; what is clear, however, is that Someśvara is offering us a typical description of a special mountain as he describes Mt. Girnar. Mt. Girnar in the descriptions from both the *Kīrtikaumudī* and *Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana* is an archetypical wonderful mountain of Sanskrit poetry.

Indeed Girnar itself had been the subject of a canto in a famous Sanskrit poem, in

16. *Matsyapurāṇa,* Ānandāśrama Saṃskṛta Granthāvali, 54, Pune, 1981.

17. The section is cited in U.P. Shah's translation from Gujarati into English of Vijaya Muni's *Holy Abu,* Yashovijaya Granthamala, Bhavnagar, 1954.

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which it had been described in the lush language of the poetic portrayals of mountains that began with the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The fourth canto of Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha* is devoted to a description of Mt. Girnar. The mountain is made up of crystal slopes and golden ground and is filled with jewels, emeralds, diamonds, moon stone and sun stone (verses 3,11,16,21,26,32). The *siddhas* sport there with their wives (33). Herbs glow at night (34), while in the caves of the mountain women tryst with their lovers (67). All six seasons appear on the mountain at the same time (64). In verse after verse the poet describes the splendour of this mountain with its flashing jewels, its rivers that take on the glow of their floors of emerald and the sparkle of the crystal beds (26). The Girnar of the Hindu poet and the Girnar of the Jain poet are very much the same wondrous mountain.[18]

Another famous Jain mountain is the magical Mt. Vijayārdha, on the north and south flanks of which the Vidyādharas, a class of semi-celestials, are said to have built their kingdoms. An extended poetic description of Vijayārdha can be found in the 18th and 19th chapters of the 9th century Sanskrit *Ādipurāṇa* of Jinasena.[19] We can anticipate all of the essential elements of the description; the sense of surprise comes only from the recognition of the poet's skill in conveying them. The mountain has mines of jewels (19.107), while its various surfaces consist of different gemstones that light the darkness for celestial women in their love-sports. (9.118). The peaks of the mountain reach up into the sky and are radiant with jewels (9.149); the god of love is ever vigilant there, where geese cluck in the ponds, bees buzz in the flowering creepers and cuckoos coo in the groves (19.108). The trees, their branches bent low by the weight of their blossoms, seem to beckon the god of love, as they sway in the breeze (19.166).

The stability of these descriptions of wonderful or sacred mountains in Sanskrit literature is clear even from the most cursory survey of the literature. The *Bhuśuṇḍi Rāmāyaṇa,* a text that has been dated either to the fourteenth or sixteenth century A.D., has several sections describing mountains. A substantial portion of the first book of this ample text is devoted to the pilgrimage of Daśaratha.[20] Given the focus of the text, a synthesis of the cults of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, both of whom were associated with special

18. We shall see that there is another striking similarity, in that Māgha also knows Girnar as a mountain of hidden treasures (4.37). This is not necessarily a characteristic of the magic mountain in Sanskrit literature, but I shall be arguing that it is an important aspect of the mountain as Jain sacred site.

19. The text is edited by Pandit Pannalal Jain in the *Mūrtidevī Jaina Granthamālā,* 8, Bhāratīya Jñāna Pīṭha, Kāśī, 1963.

20. Chapters 101-145 concern the pilgrimage. In the printed text, edited by B.P. Singh, Varanasi: Vishwavidyalaya Prakashan, 1975, these chapters extend from pp.475-950. On the dates of the text see Hans Bakker, *Ayodhyā,* Groningen: Egbert Forster, 1986, I. 140-143.

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mountains and forests, it is not surprising to see wonderful mountains and forests given special attention. But it is not just Kṛṣṇa's Mt. Govardhana and its counterpart in the forest Pramodavana that are lavishly described. Chapter 104, for example, has a long section on Mt. Gandhamādana, which is said to have caves decorated by various mineral pigments (*divyadhātudravodgārīśibhamānadarīmukhaḥ*, vs. 42) and to be peopled by *Gandharvas* and *Apsarases*. The mountain is difficult of access for normal mortals; it is attained by austerities, faith and fortitude (vs.59). The next chapter describes Mt. Govardhana. It is made of jewels and has jewel peaks (vs.43,44). Jewels light its caves (vs.48) and magical herbs dot its slopes. In chapter 114 we are taken to Pramodavana, the counterpart to Vrndāvana, Kṛṣṇa's earthly pleasure garden. This garden is adorned by another mountain, Mt. Saungandhika, on which the gods and the celestial musicians sing the glories of Rāma (vs.3), much as we shall see them sing the glories of the Jina in descriptions of the Jain holy mountain Śatruñjaya.

The longevity of the Sanskrit poetic construction of a holy or special mountain is further attested in a late *campū* written in 1752 to celebrate the deeds of Ānandaraṅga Pillai, who had served the French in Pondicherry. The poet, Śrīnivāsa tells us in the second chapter of the visit of Tirveṅkaṭa, Ānandaraṅga's father, to Tirupati, in his desire to obtain a son. The mountain is a likeness of the entire universe, for on it dwell denizens of the heavens, the middle world and the nether world, who have accumulated sufficient merit; its peaks have their slopes made of glittering gold, while in its forest groves men and gods sport with their wives. The mountain looks like perpetual sunset with the rays of the rubies aglow on its gold ground. It has numerous different trees and many different wild animals and birds.[21]

There are many passages in the *Śatruñjaya Kalpa* that describe Śatruñjaya in similar language, although the erotic is slightly toned down. For example, the story is told of a young man named Bhīma, whose mother dies at his birth. He is raised by a wet-nurse and all seems well, until his father's second wife also has a child. She eventually tries to kill Bhīma, so that her own son may take the throne. Her plot fails, but Bhīma realizes her intentions and decides to leave home. He goes to Śatruñjaya, where he sees many caves. *Kinnaras* and their ladies sing from these caves of the glories of the Jina, delighting the gods, *Yakṣas* and mortals (p.38 vs20-21). Wild beasts calmly drink from the streams there, eating their fill (22). There are glowing plants which provide light, and the *Yakṣas* and other divine beings sport there, enjoying great pleasure (24).

In this description we still have the erotic sports of the semi-divine beings, *Kinnaras*

21. *Ānandaraṅgavijayacampū* of Śrīnivāsa Kavi, ed. V. Raghavan, Palaniappa Bros, Tirucchirappali, 1948, p.44.

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and *Kinnarīs* living in the caves, although they sing of the Jina; wild beasts now tame, and the magic herbs that provide light. The description of the mountain still belongs to the tradition in Sanskrit poetry of special mountains that are at once the setting for ascetic practice and heaven on earth.

I have included these descriptions in my discussion of the "visible" or more broadly "sensible" Śatruñjaya, and the "visible" Girnar, for they are indeed rich in visual information, and there is in them no explicit mention of any wonder beyond that which can be seen or directly sensed and described. We are told of water falls, trees, flowers, caves, coloured minerals, all marks of the landscape that we can see. And we can hear the songs of the *Kinnaras* or see the beds they have left after they have made love. But I believe that there is also a hint in all of these descriptions that the mountains have another possible topography, one that is not visible under ordinary circumstances, but that is also paradisiacal, and grants infinite wealth, long life, and sensual pleasures, all of the bounties of heaven. The hint is contained, I think, in the mention of the super-natural elements of the landscape or elements of the landscape that clearly are not part of the normal landscape of ordinary places: the herbs that glow in the dark, the minerals, and the jewels. Occasionally, we have seen the texts may even say that the mountain is difficult of access. We shall see below that there is another Śatruñjaya and another Girnar, different from the mountain one can see with its caves, streams, trees and animals. It is a Girnar and Śatruñjaya of underground wonders, minerals, jewels and wells of the drink of immortality. I should like to suggest that these descriptions, then, are somewhat in between the two poles of the totally visible mountains in the hymns of the monks, and the hidden paradises of the second class of texts, the miracle stories and histories.[22] Perhaps these texts are telling us that all holy sites require both normal and a special kind of seeing if we are to see them completely. In the next section I consider a story that I think reflects some anxiety about the possibility that it requires special seeing to see a holy site.

III. The anxiety of seeing : The story of King Vīryasāra from the *Śatruñjaya Kalpa*, (pp.113-114.)

I begin with a somewhat free translation of part of a story in the *Śatruñjaya Kalpa* :

"There was a king named Vīryasāra, a lineal descendant of the Jina Ṛṣabhanātha. One day he set out with a party of thousands upon thousands of kings to pray to the Jinas on

22. The fact that Māgha, in his otherwise typical description of Girnar as a wonderful mountain, also mentions that it bears within it hidden gems, suggests both their Girnar was widely known even outside Jain circles as a treasure mountain, and that it was indeed a small step from having jewels on the surface to having jewels hidden below. I will return to this verse in the *Śiśupālavadha*, 4.37, below.

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Śatruñjaya. Along the way, as he led the pilgrimage party, he saw many beautiful mountains, all looking exactly like Śatruñjaya, with temples and images. King Vīryasāra thought to himself, "Now there is in the country of Saurāṣṭra only one Mt. Śatruñjaya, which grants release and all worldly pleasures. How is it now that I see all of these many Śatruñjayas here ? To which one shall I go ?" And when that king could not in fact ascend all those mountains, for that would have been far too difficult, he made this firm resolve:" As long as I do not know which is the real Śatruñjaya, as long as I do not worship the Jina, I will not eat." When at the end of a month, the king still had not figured out which mountain was Śatruñjaya, the pilgrims were all greatly distressed. And the king was himself exceedingly pained and he then decided to cut off his own head with his sword. And at that moment Indra appeared to him and said, "O king, do not commit such a rash act! I am the chief king of the gods and I came here to test your courage; it was I who magically created all these many mountains here. And you, O Lord of the Earth! did not once waver from the right path. I shall now cause to appear before you the real mountain; worship that mountain which grants perfect knowledge." And then when all those other mountains were made to disappear by the lord of the gods, King Vīryasāra climbed Mt. Śatruñjaya."

This little vignette is reminiscent of other stories of the firm resolve of a pilgrim who is somehow prevented from completing his pilgrimage. There is a well known story of King Āma, who had heard of the greatness of Mt. Girnar and decided that he would not eat again until he was able to make a pilgrimage there and worship Nemi. The king becomes ill along the way and is too feeble to complete the trip. A minor goddess comes and brings an image of Nemi to the king. The king worships the image and breaks his fast.[23] The story of Vīryasāra equally belongs to another genre of stories that are perhaps better known from Buddhist story literature than from Jain story literature : stories from the collections of *Jātakas* and *Avadānas* in which the god Indra tests the would-be Buddha. The future Buddha bests Indra by showing that he is willing to die for his beliefs or to complete the task he has begun. Perhaps the most famous of these stories is the *Śibi Jātaka* in which the future Buddha refuses to give up a dove that has sought his protection to Indra, who is disguised as a hawk and demands the dove as his rightful food.[24] What is interesting in the context

23. I have translated the version from the *Prabandhakośa* in my article, "Ritual and Biography : The Case of Bappabhaṭṭisūri", in Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara, *Other selves : Autobiography and Biography in Cross-Cultural Perspective,* Oakville, Ontario: Mosaic Press, 1994, pp.150-207.

24. I have wriiten about some of these stories in "Manicūḍas Sacrifice : Narrative context as a Guide to Interpretation", in V.N. Jha, ed. *Kalyanamitta, festschrift for Hajime Nakamura,* India Books, Delhi, 1990, pp.225-239 and more recently on a cycle of stories in which the future Buddha is seeking the perfect teaching. This paper, delivered at the AAR, 1995, will be included in a book edited by Elizabeth Wilson.

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of this paper is that the test Indra devises plays upon the important ritual of seeing a pilgrimage site. The king cannot see Śatruñjaya because he sees to many Śatruñjayas; only one of them can be real, and the others must be illusory. But the king is unable to decide which is the real mountain since they all look exactly alike. He requires divine assistance, secured through his willingness to die, before he can see the real Śatruñjaya that has been hidden from view by an abundance of visual stimuli. I will argue in the next section that as a pilgrimage site Śatruñjaya and Girnar, with which it is so closely associated, always potentially presented this challenge to the pilgrim. Offering in its temples and Jinas an abundance of visual stimuli and potential objects of worship, the real Śatruñjaya was hidden underground. To find it one needed to be willing to perform severe penances and thereby secure the aid of some of the demi-gods that protected the underground treasures. In this understanding of Śatruñjaya, every pilgrimage was something of a divine challenge.

IV. The Hidden Śatruñjaya : The Treasure - seeker's Paradise

The hidden Śatruñjaya is most clearly revealed to us in the account given by the monk Jinaprabhasūri in his *Vividhatīrthakalpa,* chapter 1, and in many of the miracle stories in the *Śatruñjaya Kalpa.* The section from the *Vividhatirthakalpa* has been translated into English and French and provides a convenient starting point for our discussion. The account begins in a conventional fashion, listing the many important monks who reached Enlightenment on the mountain, although interspersed in the list are verses that make mention of the quicksilver mines, the gem mines and herbs (verses 9-10). The text continues with a brief list of some of the temples built there, and then changes tone slightly to describe some of the merits one gains by worshipping on Śatruñjaya. With verses 100 we begin to move from the visible Śatruñjaya of the temples and images to the hidden landscape. We hear of mines of gold and silver at a short distance from the temple to the Jina Śānti; then of a well filled with quicksilver. Near this well is a cache of gems and jewels left there by the monk Pādalipta to serve for the future restoration of the temples. The mention of Pādalipta at once alerts us to the context for all of these hidden treasures. Pādalipta is known in the Jain biographical tradition as a wizard and adept at alchemy. In these pursuits he was joined by Nāgārjuna, the Buddhist adept whom the Jains adopted into their fold.[25] The account continues with a description of rituals to be performed to attract the attention of the Goddess Vairoṭhyā.[26] She will tell the adept when to lift a stone slab, under which the adept should enter in the depth of the night. Fasting there, the adept attains all of the *siddhis,* or magical powers, such as the ability to fly and make himself small. The instructions then continue, telling the adept to proceed further to another stone slab. He is to make offerings

25. See my article on Nāgārjuna cited above.

26. I have translated her biography in *The Clever Adulteress,* pp.145-149.

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there, and if he is very meritorious, he will get to see a well containing the nectar of immortality.

This should give us a good idea of what the hidden Śatruñjaya is like; it is a vast underground terrain, access to which is controlled by goddesses like Vairoṭhyā and secured by ritual propitiation of these minor deities. The description of Girnar in the *Vividhatīrthakalpa,* chapter 2, is very much the same. It is a list of instructions on how to find wells of quicksilver and elixir. It also is associated with the wizard Pādalipta. In compiling the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* Jinaprabhasūri used a wide range of sources, oral and written. He tells us that this section was taken from a text by Pādalipta. One of the biographies of the King Kumārapāla includes a section from a *Śatruñjaya Kalpa* said to have been written by Bāhubāli and abbreviated by Pādalipta; it too speaks of hidden hoards of gold and wells of quicksilver.[27]

It is also worth noting that the tradition that Girnar had a magic tank of elixir that eliminated old age and death does not seem to have been exclusively Jain. Māgha, in his *Śiśupālavadha,* 4.37 has this verse :

vidvadbhir āgamaparair vivṛtaṃ kathaṃcic-
chrutvāpi durgraham aniścitadhībhir anyaiḥ/
śreyān dvijātir iva hantuṃ aghāni dakṣaṃ
gūḍhārtham eṣa nidhimantragaṇam bibharti//37

"This wonderful mountain bears hidden within it treasures capable of destroying all sufferings; these treasures can only be seen by wise men who know the sacred literature, and cannot be found by others who do not believe in them, even though they may somehow hear of their existence. Indeed the mountain is like an excellent Brahmin who knows the hidden treasures that are the sacred formulas; such formulas are capable of destroying all sins and can only be known by the wise men who know the sacred literature; they cannot be grasped by others who doubt their power even though they may hear about them."

The verse is an extended simile based on puns that I have tried to disentangle for the translation. Its main point, hopefully, is clear: Mt. Girnar has treasures hidden within it that are known only to those who possess special knowledge and cannot be obtained by others whose wisdom is not perfected. There is a secret Mt. Girnar in addition to the visible mountain, which, with all of its jewels and divine beings, was marvellous enough. A late medieval Hindu poem celebrating the deeds of the Saurāṣtran king Maṇḍalīka likewise knows of the tradition of the hidden Mt. Girnar and mentions its magic reservoir.[28] The

27. See the *Kumārapāla Caritrasaṃgraha,* ed. Jina Vijaya Muni, *Singhi Jain Series,* vol. 41, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1956, pp.104-105.

28. Velankar H.D., "Maṇḍalīka: the Last Great King of Independent Saurāṣtra", *Bharatīya Vidyā,* vol. XIV, 1953, pp.36-61. The rererence is to I.34 in the poem.

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Prabhāsamāhātmya, of the *Skanda Purāṇa,* part II, speaks of Girnar as a place where those engaged in alchemical pursuits dwell (7.2.1. 72), and mentions wells of *rasa,* the alchemical elixir or the drink of immortality (2.6.8). The *Svacchanda Tantra* 10.452 also associates Raivata with Tantric adepts who have mastered certain alchemical practices.[29]

Indeed, Girnar was not the only holy mountain known for its connection with *rasasiddhi,* the alchemical pursuit. In the *Aruṇācalamāhātmya* included in the *Skanda Purāṇa,* 2.37, we are told that the holy site grants immortality, allows men to accomplish the goals of alchemy, and grants ultimate release from transmigratory existence. In the *Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa* (7.16.-26) we are told of a place sacred to the sun, which is of gold. Only a person with merit may see it. It has underground tunnels and innumerable stones that can turn base metal into gold; they are carefully guarded by minor deities.[30] In the *Carakasaṃhitā* section on alchemy, one of the most famous sacred mountains, the Himālaya, is said to be the best source for the herbs that are needed for alchemical practices.[31] Thus the association of mountains, adepts and the resources for the pursuit of alchemy, seems to be both well-established and fairly old in a variety of different genres of Sanskrit texts.

While we can trace some elements of the hidden Mt. Girnar back into Sanskrit poetry and the world of poetical magic mountains, as I have been hinting, the actual language of the Jain descriptions of both Śatruñjaya and Girnar and some of these remarks in Hindu pilgrimage texts point us to the more technical literature of medieval alchemy. Unfortunately, almost nothing is known of Jain alchemical traditions. Recently Nalini Balbir used Jain story literature to try to recover some of this lost lore.[32] She also discussed one

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29. I am indebted to David White, *The Alchemical Body: Siddha Traditions in Medieval India,* university of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1996, p.329, for the reference to the *Svacchanda Tantra.* White also notes a passage now an appendix to the *Harivaṃśa* that deals with Raivata or Girnar. The passage does not particularly associate Girnar with alchemy, however; it is more in the vein of the description of any wonderful mountain in the Sanskrit poetic tradition.

30. *Skanda Purāṇa,* Nag Publishers, Delhi, 1986, vol.1, p.216; vol.7, p.25a.

31. Edited by Vaidya Jādavaji Trikamji Ācārya, section *cikitsāsthāna* 1.1.38., Nirnaya Sagara Press, Bombay, 1941.

32. Nalini Balbir, "A la Recherche des treśors souterrains' *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society,* vol.3, 1993, pp.116-115. I thank Alex Passi, University of Bologna for the reference and a copy of the article. Some time after this paper was written Christine Chojnacki wrote on "Monts sacrés et alchimie jaina au Moyen Age", *Indica et Tibetica* 37, *Vividharatnakaraṇḍaka, Festgabe für Adelheidmette,* ed. Christine Chojnacki, Jens-Uwe Hartmann and Volker M. Tschannerl, 2000, pp. 139-173. I thank Paul Dundas for sending me a copy of this article.

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of the few texts on treasure seeking that we have today, the obscure *Nidhipradīpa*.[33] This text, probably Śaiva in origin, contains a description of offerings that must be made to the guardians of the treasures before one attempts to locate them. It also makes clear that there is a subtle and complex interplay between the visible landscape and the hidden treasures, in its lists of trees and types of soil formations that indicate the presence of buried treasures. There is also a fascinating section on treasures buried in images.

While the existence of a text like the *Nidhipradīpa* alerts us to the importance of traditions of buried treasure and treasure seeking in Tantric ritual, in the final analysis I would argue that the accounts of Śatruñjaya and Girnar in the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* and the passages on treasures and gold in the Hindu *Māhātmya* texts cannot be directly linked to an alchemy text like the *Nidhipradīpa*. None of the signs mentioned so prominently in the *Nidhipradīpa*, for example figures explicitly in any of these descriptions.

There is a genre of alchemical text, however, that is closer to the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* in its description of a special mountain, and its explicit directions on where to find special wells of elixir or where to perform certain rituals to obtain gold or long life. This is the *Rasāyanakhaṇḍa* of Nityānanda of the 13th century, with its description of Śrī Śaila in its final chapter.[34] The similarities between the *Rasāyanakhaṇḍa* and the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* lie less in the details, and more in a general emphasis on digging underground and finding there hidden wells. The description of Śrī Śaila in the *Rasāyanakhaṇḍa* seems to me closer to the concerns of medieval alchemy as we know it than the description of the Jain mountains in the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, with the one exception of *kalpa* 4, to be discussed below. Thus in the *Rasāyanakhaṇḍa* we are told that the adept can find *guggula* on Śrī Śaila; he is to melt it in a vessel of copper to produce gold (4-5) or to eat it to become immortal (3).

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33. *Nidhipradīpa of* Śrī Siddha Śrīkaṇṭhaśambhu, *Vidyāvāridhi Granthamālā*, Haridvaram, vol.4, 1982.

34. The text is edited by Vaidya Jādavjī Tricumjī Ācārya in the *Haridas Sanskrit Series* 95, Banaras, 1939. The chapter on ŚrīŚaila is the last in the text. I became aware of this text when reading the recent book of David White, *The Alchemical Body*, pp.161-2, where he notes that the fourth chapter of the 13th century *Rasaratnākara* of Nityanātha contains a long section on the mountain Śrī Śaila and its alchemical wonders. White notes that there are brief descriptions of special mountains in an alchemical text like the *Rasārṇava Kalpa*, said to be part of the *Rudrayāmala Tantra*. Unfortunately in the edition I have, edited and translated into English by Mira Roy, Indian National Science Academy, New Delhi, 1976, the editor has chosen to eliminate these descriptive verses. Dominik Wujastyk has written about the *Rasāyanakhaṇḍa* in an article, "An Alchemical Ghost: The Rasaratnākara of Nāgārjuna", in *Ambix*, vol.31, part 2, July 1984, pp.70-83. I thank Dr. Wujastyk for a copy of this article.

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Instructions are given about where to dig a particular soil, that when eaten leads to immortality within seven days (9-10). The adept is to throw certain leaves of a tree into a well that he uncovers by digging. The leaves turn into fish. He is to roast the fish and eat certain parts. He will fall into a swoon from which he will awaken with a life span of countless years (15-19; 117-119). Next an adept is instructed on how to find a door through which he enters and proceeds until he finds stones glowing like fire. He is to wrap the stones in a cloth that turns red; the cloth is then to be thrown into milk which he is to drink. This will give him an adamantine body (19-23). In some spots he is to purge himself, techniques that are related to the cultivation of longevity in alchemical and some early medical texts. In most cases the instructions involve the adept's locating some raw material, often leaves or stones, that he will then treat in a special way and ingest (123-124; 126-127, etc.) By contrast the rituals in the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* are simple, often consisting in little more than fasting or reciting a *mantra*. In the description of Śatruñjaya, for example, in *kalpa* 1, and of Girnar in *kalpas* 2,3,5 there is no mention of eating or cooking certain substances, or of performing alchemical operations on the mountains. The tone is more that of finding buried treasure than turning the environment into an alchemical laboratory.

In the description of Girnar in *Kalpa* 4 we do get something much closer to the alchemical tone of the *Rasāyanakhaṇḍa*, with instructions on how to find raw materials and use them.[35] This particular *Kalpa* is also predominantly Śaiva or Hindu in tone; it speaks of images of Pārvatī (9,34) and a *liṅga* (5). It also mentions an image of Vāsudeva (33). It is close to the *Rasāyanakhaṇḍa* in its interest in stones of peculiar colour and shape and particular coloured earth. Like the *Rasāyanakhaṇḍa* it mentions alchemical operations that are to be conducted on these raw materials (mixing with various other substances, heating, etc; verses 11,18,20,25-26, etc.). The contrast between this *Kalpa* 4 and the other passages in the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, I believe, suggests that these other accounts of Śatruñjaya and Girnar may not be as close to alchemical texts as we might have originally suspected.

I would like to propose that these Jain accounts, with the exception of *kalap* 4, may be more closely related to a broader literary tradition of magical lands, often islands, and paradises that we know from early medieval Indian stories. The literary accounts of magical lands include some parts of the descriptions in poetry of magical mountains that I noted earlier in this paper. But it is to story literature we must turn if we want to see these motifs more fully developed. In their depiction of the magic lands as places where gold and jewels and magic herbs abound the stories of magic lands fulfill some of the goals of alchemical

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35. These passages have all been translated by John Cort in Granoff, *The Clever Adulteress*, pp.251-258.

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paradises, but without the arcane rituals and practices. I have selected a Buddhist version for comparison here.[36]

The *Avadānakalpalatā* of Kṣemendra contains as chapter 6 a story titled, "The Journey to the Island of Badara", or *Badaradvīpāvadāna*. In this story we hear how the Buddha in a past life had once rescued some merchants. The Buddha in that birth had been a merchant. He longed to have sufficient wealth to meet the needs of everyone who suffered want. One night a goddess appears to him in a dream and tells him that she will fulfill his wishes. She tells him of an island not of this world. This island contains jewels that grant all wishes. The goddess gives elaborate instructions for reaching the island; she mentions rivers, mountains, caves with magic herbs that he will see along the way. She tells the future Buddha to go a certain town and seek the help of a merchant there. The Bodhisattva follows her advice, but unfortunately the merchant dies along the way and he is left to proceed by himself. He comes to many an impassable obstacle and is aided by yakṣas, just that species of demi-god that guard the treasures of Śatruñjaya and Girnar. Eventually he finds wonderful crystal mountains, caves with life-giving herbs, a city of gold and the magic jewels. The story stresses that reaching this world and finding these treasures could only be accomplished by someone with great merit.

There are other indications in Buddhist texts that the ability to find buried treasures was associated with a certain level of spiritual accomplishment. In the *Gaṇḍavyūha* we hear of a nun Vasumitrā, whose wonderful dwelling has many jewelled trees and hidden treasures revealed from under stone slabs.[37] A monk, Sudarśana, is attended upon by goddesses, some of whom show to him mines of jewels (chapter 14). It is clear from these references that in certain Buddhist texts having access to an otherwise hidden world of wealth is associated with the great spiritual merit of a minority of superior aspirants.

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36. These stories may conceivably have been influenced by alchemical texts that contain descriptions of unique mountains, such as the *Rasāyanakhaṇḍa* mentioned above, or they may have influenced those texts in turn. My own knowledge of the literature is too slight at this point even to make very convincing suggestions. My reading of the *Rasāyanakhaṇḍa* and the Jain texts side by side, however, leads me to suspect that the Jain accounts are closer to the story tradition of journeys to inaccessible lands of jewels and gold than to the alchemical text. In addition, the chronology of the texts we have, suggests that the stories of fabulous lands are considerably older than the detailed instructions concerning alchemical mountains, which may well be transformations of these earlier tales.

37. The text is edited by P.L. Vaidya, *Buddhist Sanskrit Texts,* no.5, Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, Darbhanga, 1960. Vasumitrā is section 28. The phrase in question, *prabhūtamaṇivicitradrumaśākhāvajraśilāprakaṭanidhiśatasahasra-nicayākṣayakośam* appears on p.155, lines 3-4.

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There is also a well developed story tradition in texts like the *Kathāsaritsāgara,* which recounts the exploits of many a hero in search of fabulously beautiful women and magic objects and finds them in secret underground caves.[38] Thus for example we hear of a King Bhūnandana from Kasmir (12.79), who one night in his sleep finds himself in the company of an extremely beautiful woman. When he awakens she is gone, but from the marks on his own body he knows that the experience was not a dream. He decides that Śiva has given him this pleasure and decides to propitiate Śiva. He abandons the kingship and goes to a *tīrtha* named Kramasaras made by the footprint of Viṣṇu in his dwarf incarnation (vs 95-96). There he practices asceticism for twelve years, when an ascetic comes to him and tells him that the woman was from Pātāla, the underworld, and he can take the king to her. The king agrees to follow him. The ascetic explains that there are many entrances to the underworld, but one of the biggest is in Kasmir. They go there, and after they perform certain rituals, propitiating the goddess Śārikā and throwing down consecrated mustard seeds, they cross a river. The king sees ground made of silver and a marvellous forest of sandal wood, coral and aloe woods. There are also gold lotuses (120). Eventually they come to a city gate of jewels and a wall of gold. The ascetic defeats the fierce guardians and they enter the gate to find houses of gold and the beautiful *asura* women. After some misadventures, the king recovers his lost lover. In another story a hero climbs down into a hole and gains a magic sword that gives him all the *siddhis* and the ability to fly (9.207ff). The geography of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* thus includes this vast and wonderful underground terrain accessible to the few who know the proper rituals to propitiate the deities, benign and fierce, that guard it, and who have the courage to withstand its terrors.

I would like to propose that the Jain traditions about Śatruñjaya and Girnar that we see in the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* should be understood in this larger context, religious and literary, in which spiritual accomplishments are associated with an ability to find hidden wealth and in which heroes find magic caverns and grottoes that hold the promise of supernatural powers. The Jain traditions about the two mountains may also be related to more specific medieval alchemical traditions about buried treasures, although it is more difficult to determine the precise extent of the connection given our very limited knowledge of actual alchemical texts. In addition, I would note that the association of asceticism or religious accomplishments with hidden wealth may well be an extension of an even older tradition, in which alchemy or *rasāyana* was practiced for long life and bodily strength, and was definitely associated with religious austerities. In the *Carakasaṃhitā, rasāyana* is explicitly associated with the practice of the sage or *ṛṣis* of old, who cultivated long life in

38. The text is edited by Paṇḍita Jagadishalal Shastri, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1970. Some of these stories of Asura Grottoes in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and in Buddhist texts have been discussed by R.A. Stein, *Grottes-Matriices et Lieux Saints de la Déesse en Asie Orientale,* Ecole Francaise d''Extreme-Orient, Paris, 1988, pp.24-29.

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order to be able to practice austerities free from the weakness of disease and old age. At one point in the text we are even told that the sages of old combined *rasāyana* with such things as *tapas* and *brahmacarya*. We are further told, 1.3.8, that those who practice it or other purposes are doomed to fail. There is, then, in the *Carakasaṃhitā* a close connection between religious austerities and *rasāyana*, although the *rasāyana* of the *Carakasaṃhitā* is a quest for immortality and not for wealth, while Śatruñjaya and Girnar can promise the devotee both.

In closing this section I would like to review briefly some stories from the *Śatruñjaya Kalpa* which depict Śatruñjaya as a fertile source of magical jewels and mines of elixir, very much in the tradition of the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*. Many stories were no doubt sparked by verse 5 in the root text itself, which tells us that on Mt. Śatruñjaya are to be found numerous mines of gems, caves and herbs, wells of the nectar of immortality (or in the language of the alchemist, wells of quicksilver to transmute base substances into gold); these things are accompanied by the gods who guard them. The stories make clear that these mines of jewels and wells of quicksilver are not at all visible to everyone. There is an account of two brothers, for example, one of whom is honest and the other of whom is thoroughly wicked. Eventually they both go to Śatruñjaya after they hear from their *guru* how great it is. One brother is especially curious about the mine of jewels. He vows that he will not eat again until he sees it. The superintending god appears to him and tells him that he is pleased with his resolve and he will show him the mine. The young man is permitted to take five jewels from the mine. He uses them to build a temple (pp.35-37). It is worth pausing for a moment to consider this temple; we saw earlier that the hymns monks wrote on their pilgrimages often mentioned specific temples at Śatruñjaya and specific objects of worship, for example the footprints of the Jina under the famous silk-cotton tree. The accounts of the pilgrimage of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla likewise mention the temples and their images. Paintings of pilgrimages show various temples and the rituals being performed there.[39] The *Śatruñjaya Kalpa* does mention some of these historical temples, but many of its temples are ones like the temple in this story : they are built by purely fictional characters and are part of the fictional or imaginative landscape of Śatruñjaya. From this perspective, the "invisible" Śatruñjaya includes not only the hidden mines of jewels and wells of quicksilver, but a whole world of temples and images that exist only in the miracle stories told of them.

In another story, a prince gets dropsy and when no one can cure him he undertakes a pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya. He worships for seven nights in front of an image of Gomukha-yakṣa and then the *Yakṣa* tells him to eat the fruit of a certain tree there. The prince is cured. This is a case of the visible being not quite what it seems; an ordinary fruit has hidden powers (pp. 38-39). In another story leaves of the silk-cotton tree cure the afflictions of the army of Bharata, the son of the first Jina (p.81).

39. For examples see Pal, cited above.

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There is a long story about a well of *rasa*, which can mean either the nectar of immortality or in the world of the alchemist, quicksilver. The plot of the story suggests that this is really about alchemy, about making gold. The story opens with a merchant who is not terribly fortunate in his four sons. All the sons are under the control of their wives and none of them bothers much about the father. The sons are made to see their wrong doing and then the story switches gear. The youngest son is poor and leaves town. He goes to Śatruñjaya where he meets some ascetic. He hears from their leader that there is a well of quicksilver that can be used to make gold. He is told to perform austerities in front of the image of the Jina Śāntinātha and meditate there; the superintending deity of the well will show it to him. The text then quotes a verse about how to find a mine of gold and silver near the image of Śāntinātha. The verse quoted corresponds to verse 101 in the passage on Śatruñjaya from the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, particularly if the variant reading is taken for verse 104. Returning to the story, our young man follows the instructions he has been given and propitiates the god protecting the well. The god is pleased with his worship and says he will show him the well; the young man is also given permission to take some of the elixir. He does as he has been told and then returns home. With the elixir he makes a heap of gold. He takes good care of his parents and makes a temple to the Jina Śāntinātha, with an image of gold. He also makes a gold image of Śāntinātha for the temple on Śatruñjaya, and he obtains omniscience while meditating in front of this image. (pp. 39-40).

It is clear from this story with its extensive quote either from the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* or from its source that there is indeed an intimate relationship between the two texts. The miracle story serves almost as an illustration or proof of the statements in the other text that these mines and wells of elixir exist.

The *Śatruñjaya Kalpa* also tells of miraculous happenings on Śatruñjaya that are closer to the range of stories told in the typical *Māhātmya* texts of the Hindu Purāṇas. Thus we hear of a prince afflicted with leprosy who is cured by bathing in the river at Śatruñjaya (p.79), or that the mud from the river when applied to the eyes cures blindness. The water is also said to make a person extremely beautiful and to remove afflictions caused by possession by malign spirits (p.28). The presence of these more usual stories only serves to highlight how unusual are the other stories. In the typical *Māhātmya* we are given a catalogue of the typographical features of the holy site, ponds, mountains, rivers, and then sometimes elaborate stories that attest to their miraculous powers. The wonder-working features of the landscape in these stories are all visible landmarks. In the stories about the mines of jewels and wells of quicksilver on Śatruñjaya we are dealing with hidden springs and hidden bodies of liquid. Only by performing austerities and gaining the protection and favour of the demi-gods who guard these hidden treasures can the devotee partake of their miraculous powers. Śatruñjaya in these stories is an esoteric object, accessible only to the

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few who know how to secure the favour of the gods. I would like to discuss this notion of the holy site as inaccessible in my conclusion that follow.

V. Conclusion : Seeing a holy place

Śatruñjaya and Girnar were not the only holy places in medieval Jainism whose powers were not accessible to all mortals. Jains held sacred another mountain, one of the main characteristic of which was its inaccessibility. The mountain was Aṣṭāpada, the Jain counterpart to Kailāsa, the home of the god Śiva in Hindu mythology. The *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, chapter 49, has an elaborate description of Aṣṭāpada. Part of the lore of this mountain is that it was deliberately made inaccessible by Bharata, the son of the first Jina Ṛṣabhanātha. It was on this mountain that Ṛṣabha had died; at his death Bharata had made a marvellous jewelled temple to Ṛṣabha there. He installed there an image of Ṛṣabha and then images of his 99 brothers who had also died on that mountain, having achieved their final liberation from *saṃsāra*. Then Bharata, fearing that harm might come to the temples if people could simply come and go to these temples easily, had mechanical guards made. He also smoothed out the surface of the mountain to make it totally impossible that anyone should be able to climb it.[40] After its long and complicated description of all the jewelled temples on Aṣṭāpada, the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* concludes with a verse that stresses Aṣṭāpada's virtual inaccessibility. It promises merit to the person who can even behold the reflection in water of this holy mountain with its temples and their banners; for it explains, the holy site is inaccessible on account of its surrounding moat, its forests and thickets, its wild tribal people and vicious snakes."[41]

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40. I am summarizing here from the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* of Hemacandra, translated by Helen Johnson, vol.1, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1931, pp.370-371.

41. This verse is differently translated by Cort. The first half of the verse reads *jaṃ tithamiṇam agammaṃ tā phalihavaṇagahaṇasamaravālehim*. Cort has translated the compound with the line "remember its unapproachable crystal grove". He seems to be reading the word *samara* to mean remember and the word *phaliha* to mean crystal. But that leaves unexplained the syntax and the last word *vāla*. I take *phaliha* (variant *phalihā*) to mean moat and *samara* to mean *śabara* or tribal. Both meanings are attested in the *Pāiasaddamahaṇṇavo*. Malayagiri in the commentary to the *Prajñāpanā*, ed. Śrī Vijaya Bhuvanabhānusurīśvara, Śrī Ādinātha Jaina Śvetāmbara Mandira Trust, Bangalore, 1988, p.57, in the description of the abode of the Bhavanavāsi gods glosses the word *phaliha* with *parikhā*, moat or trench. That there were *śabaras* or tribals on the mountain is made clear in Hemacandra's description of Aṣṭāpada, p.333. Chojnacki has also translated the verse, p.105: *Ce lieu saint est impenetrable avec ses inaccessibles forets de cristal qui le protégent des conflits*. This seems to me to be unsupported by the syntax. As I read it, the compound is a *dvandva* in the instrumental plural.

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That a holy site should be inaccessible seems curious, given the emphasis in Indian religious on directly seeing the god, a concept with which I began this paper. Even Aṣṭāpada, however, had its exceptions, and some rare individuals with great merit could magically travel there to worship. Aṣṭāpada as a whole is much like the hidden Śatruñjaya, a land visible only to the pious few. I would like to conclude this paper with some comments on the idea of a hidden/esoteric holy realm or holy object in Indian religions. It was not only in Jainism that such a belief can be documented. Medieval Hinduism knows of a number of such objects. One is a Śiva liṅga that was associated with a mountain in South India itself famed for its associations with Tantric adepts and wizards like Nāgārjuna. This is Śrī Parvata, and in an hymn of the tenth century A.D., which was carved onto a temple wall we hear,

"There is a *liṅga* of light that is visible in the sky above Śrīparvata, of golden radiance, a marvel in all the world.

Those who have done great acts of merit in their past lives see it and freed from the bondage of rebirth by Your compassion, become Your eternal companions."[42]

There was also a tradition associated with the famous image of the dancing Śiva at Cidambaram that the god could only be seen by those who had performed certain austerities and thus had sufficient merit.[43] Kashi, certainly the most famous of all Hindu pilgrimage sites, was similarly said to be visible only to those with divine sight, at least in its true aspect as a city of gold suspended in space.[44] In the *Matsya Purāṇa* description of Vārāṇasī, chapter 182, verse 7, we are told that there is a divine temple to Śiva there, suspended in the sky and invisible to most. Only those who practice *yoga* can see it, and they see it in their minds.[45] The *Matsya Purāṇa* also repeatedly calls Avimukta Kṣetra and some of the other places in Vārāṇasī hidden (180.52,75,76,etc.). Furthermore, the site is said to delude those who lack faith in Śiva and so they cannot even see it (184.62-63).

We have seen in the Buddhist story of Badara Island that even a whole magical country or realm could be accessible only to those with sufficient merit. Perhaps the most famous

42. My translation of Halāyudha's hymn from "Halāyudha's Prism: The Experience of Religion in Medieval Hymns and Stories", in Vishakha N. Desai and Darielle Mason, *Gods, Guardians and Lovers: Temple Sculptures from North India A.D. 700-1200,* Asia Society Gallery, New York, 1993, p.69.

43. I have written about this and about the visionary nature of some pilgrimages in a paper, "Rāma's Bridge: Some Notes on Place in Medieval India, Real and Envisioned."

44. For reference to this belief, see, Jonathan Parry, *Death in Benaras,* Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 16 and 19.

45. *Bhūrloke naiva saṃyuktam antarikṣe śivālayam/ ayuktās tu na paśyanti yuktāḥ paśyanti cetasā.*

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example in the larger cultural circle of Indian religions of such a holy place filled with holy objects that only a few could find is the Tibetan Śambhala.[46] I have tried to show in this paper that the Jain traditions of Śatruñjaya as a magical realm accessible to only a few belong to recognizable literary and religious contexts in medieval India. There was the long-standing poetic tradition of describing special mountains that goes back at least as far as the *Rāmāyaṇa* and Kālidāsa, which if it did not describe the mountain as totally inaccessible, stressed the difficulty of the journey there. It also in its images of semi-divine couples and magical herbs hinted that this was a land beyond the range of most mortals. Second, there was a tradition in story literature of journeys to virtually closed magical realms that required that a person have great merit in order to reach his destination. Finally, there was the alchemical tradition about hidden treasures, jewels and elixirs to make gold, which was most explicit about the fact that these treasures could only be seen by those who had performed the proper rituals and attained the favour of their protecting gods.

All of this, I should like to suggest, brings the Jain holy mountains into a larger group of esoteric holy objects in medieval India. These esoteric objects challenge the dominant discourse of the Purāṇas that in the *Kaliyuga,* the age of evil, the gods became directly visible to men and women on earth in their images and that they are directly present for all people, even the most grevious of sinners, in their holy sites. Such a challenge to the very *raison d'etre* of pilgrimage according to medieval Hindu religious doctrine paradoxically enters into the main discourse of the pilgrimage texts. Thus we hear again and again in a pilgrimage text like the *Kapila Purāṇa* cited earlier that the *tīrthas* or holy sites are hidden (*guhya; rahasya*). In one story in the *Kapila Purāṇa* Śiva is said to want to leave Benaras because it is too crowded; he asks the sage Nārada to tell him about some secret place to which he might go. Nārada tells him about Ekāmravana in Orissa, a place so secret that even the gods do not know about it.(11.13-16). The text seems to offer two radically opposing views of a holy place where god resides. In the one view, the holy place is meant to be accessible to

46. Edwin Bernbaum, *The Way to Shambhala,* Anchor Books, New York, 1980. See also Johan Reinhard, "Khembalung: The Hidden Valley", *Kailash,* vol.6, no.1, 1978, pp. 15-35, and Sherpa Tulku and Alex Berzin,"A Geography and History of Shambala", *Tibet Journal,* vol.3, 1978, pp.3-11. It is tempting to see in the Jain Śatruñjaya an Indian prototype for the more developed legends of Sambhala, but unfortunately the Śatruñjaya material is too slight to draw such a conclusion. It is intriguing, however, to note that the Jain material does include some speculation about the end of the world that relates it even closer to the Śambhala legends. Thus the son of Kalki is one of the restorers of Śatruñjaya, and the Jains have a story about people emerging from caves at the end of the evilest age to start the world going again. Oddly enough, this story is also included in the *Vividhatīrthakalpa,* text p.41. I believe that the Jain material probably belonged to a much more extensive system of beliefs of which only these fragments remain.

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all devotees and the god is easily visible to anyone who goes there. In the second understanding, the holy site is hidden from view, much as the real Śatruñjaya of magic wells and jewels is hidden underground.

Similarly the *Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa* describes Prabhāsa as a secret. Śiva tells Śakti that he has kept the holy place secret because in this degenerate age most people are too wicked to benefit from it. Filled with deceit, led astray by false doctrines, they are beyond the reach of its benefits. Śiva only agrees to reveal its secrets for those and to those who are devoted to his worship (3.118-150). In some ways this constitutes a radical reversal of the notion that pilgrimage is the one ritual in the Kaliyuga capable of saving the most abject of sinners.

Even when an entire holy site is not said to be secret, there is often something concealed there, access to which is dependent upon special religious practice or knowledge. Thus in the *Aruṇācala Māhātmya* we are told that a pilgrim who would circumambulate the mountain must do so with the greatest care, for the gods and *siddhas* also circumambulate the holy mountain although they are invisible. Every pilgrim must be careful not to jostle them in the crowd (1.3.39). We are later told that the gods and the heavenly trees, though hidden from ordinary sight (*pracchannarūpāḥ*) worship the mountain eternally (1.13.50). Without the pronouncements of this text and one suspects the guidance of the priests who recited it, pilgrims would not be able to participate in the larger pilgrimage party or join in the larger community of worshippers, some of whom are expressly declared to be invisible or hidden.

The belief in the possibility of a hidden holy site provides the logic for visions of lost or hidden places sacred to various *Vaiṣṇava* groups in late medieval India. These visions resulted in the creation of a new sacred site. Thus the Rāmānandī ascetic Sur Kishor was to have perceived the cosmic form of Sītā and Rāma's sacred city, Janakpurdhām. With this and other religious visions like it began the Rāmānandī claim to the site and eventually the organization of a pilgrimage there.[47] Puṣṭimārga Vaiṣṇavism also could envision hidden and guarded sacred sites, and Bengali Vaiṣṇavism frequently connected seeing a holy site with proper ritual behaviour, in particular, the cultivation of certain emotions.[48]

47. See Richard Burghart, "The regional circumambulation of Janakpur seen in the light of the Vaishnavite tradition" in Jean-Claude Galey, *L'Espace du Temple I : Espaces, Itinéraires, Méditations,* Paris: Editisions de I'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences, Sociales, 1985, pp.121-149.

48. See Paul M. Toomey, *Food from the Mouth of Krishna: Feasts and Festivities in a North Indian Pilgrimage Centre,* Hindustan Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1994, p.28. See also my paper, "Rāma's Bridge: Some Notes on Journeys, Real and Envisioned", forthcoming in *East and West.*

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This rhetoric of the holy object or site that cannot be seen by just any worshipper may also suggest at least in some cases a desire to control access to an established sacred place and sacred power through demanding rituals and esoteric knowledge that, it could be argued, were necessary in order for a person to see the true holy object, the true holy site.[49] In a recent volume of essays on secrecy in religion, H.G. Kippenberg and Guy Stroumsa suggested that secrecy could work both to facilitate religious tolerance and as a tool of control. The stories of Śatruñjaya and Girnar, while offering the possibility of a secret site accessible only to those with the correct ritual key, do not deny entirely the importance of the visible site nor the possibility that every pilgrim may see the site and holy objects and reap the promised benefits. Instead they offer special benefits to a special group. By contrast, in closing I would like to cite a harsh story in a relatively late religious text that suggests indeed that groups could seek to control the benefits of a holy site once promised to all and sundry by insisting that seeing the holy site somehow was connected to adherence to specific religious practices. The story is in the biography of the Assamese Vaiṣṇava leader, Śaṅkaradeva, by Daityāri.

In this text we hear of a disciple who has fallen from the path; in violation of the strict rule that followers of Śaṅkaradeva must never worship any god other than Kṛṣṇa, Vyas Kalai has worshipped Śiva. Vyas Kalai, we are told, had already lost several sons. When his next son falls ill, he is desperate to save the child's life and turns to Śiva. Śaṅkaradeva punishes Vyas Kalai by casting him out of the community. Vyas Kalai makes a pilgrimage to the temple of Jagannātha at Puri, but is warned not to enter the temple. When he disobeys the warning and goes into the temple, he sees only deep darkenss. He stumbles out and makes his way home, only to die on the way.[50] The implications of this story seem starkly clear; if purāṇic texts could praise the holy place for the easy access that it provides to divine grace and forgiveness, this sectarian cautionary tale warns the would - be pilgrim that "seeing" the god could depend on certain patterns of behaviour, religious practices and beliefs. No longer does the holy site promise universal salvation; instead we are told that some find only darkness there. The holy site is hidden from those who will not comply with the group's norms. Future work will perhaps discover the extent to which such reactions to the promise of universal salvation inherent in the discourse about pilgrimage occurred and their limits and significance.

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49. I have written about one reaction to the proliferation of holy places in my article, "When Miracles Become Too Many : Stories of the Destruction of Holy Sites in the Tāpī Khaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa", *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,* 1991, 72.

50. Daityāri, *Śrīśrīśaṅkaradeva-mādhavadever Carita,* edited Ramohan Natha, Sylhet, 1869, Śaka, chapter 38.

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ETHICS OF HUMANIST VALLUVAR AND RATIONALIST VEMANA

A.B. SAI PRASAD*

"Ethics," according to the *New American Encyclopedia,* is the branch of Philosophy which deals with morals in the same way the aesthetics deals with beauty and epistemology with possibilities of human knowledge[1]. This time-tested science of morals, investigates the reasons for for and forms of human conduct *(Ibid).* Like a rationalist it sensibly puts the question what is right and what is wrong. It never stops here. It goes one step further and seeks explanation about the rightness or wrongness of certain actions and to the goodness and badness of the motives and ends of such actions[2]. Considering this aspect of ethics *Encylopaedia Britannica* says: 'It is not a positive science but normative science' It continues: ethics is not primarily occupied with actual character of human conduct but with its ideal, not so much with what human conduct is as with what ought to be[3]. Majority of our moral philosophers have, without mincing words, stated that the 'business of ethics merely consists in clearing up current conceptions and unfolding the ultimate presuppositions involved in them' *(Ibid).* Though it is not the specific function of ethics to discover new moral ideas, humanist Valluvar and investigative journalist type rationalist Vemana, have, by taking the circumstances of their times into consideration, formulated new codes of conduct through their authentic writings. The main object of their writings is, to borrow the expression from Thomas Handy, not to get a man into heaven but to get heaven in him[4].

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1. *The New American Encyclopedia,* Vol. IV, Publishers Company, Washington DC, 1963.
2. *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language,* College Edition, Allied Publishers Private Limited, New Delhi, Bombay , Madras Bangalore, Hyderabad, reprinted, 1980.
3. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* ,Vol. VIII, Encyclopaedia Britannica Ltd. Chicago, London, Toronto 1950.
4. *Inspirational Quote*-A monthly from Allahabad, October 2000, p. 4

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Thiruvalluvar of Tamil Nadu and Vemana of Andhra Pradesh (In those days the country was not divided in the name of Language) were the powerful seismographs of their times. Being the flesh and blood of society they have correctly and honestly recorded the upheavals of their respective contemporary societies. Valluvar belongs to later half of first century B.C.[5] The then society was flooded with the philosophies of three major religions, namely, Jainism, Buddhism and Vedic Brahmanism. The Rishabha Deva cult of *Ahiṁsā* had gained momentum. Buddhism was slowly loosing its hold over the society particularly in Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. The Vedic school of thought was just waiting in its wings to gain entry into the lives of general public. His efforts to amalgamate the aforesaid three schools of thought have culminated in the form of his *magnum opus Tirukkural.* The three parts of his works throw a search light on the three kingdoms of those days, namely, Chera, Chola and Pandya, three schools of thought-Jain Buddha and Vedic and three Puruṣārthas i.e. *Dharma, Artha* and *Kāma.* It is in fact the confluence of ' Righteousness, Honesty and Truthfulness' .

About Vemana's time nothing can be concretely said. Critics of Vemana feel that he might have lived in the 16th or 17th Century A.D. The dreadful disease of caste system had spread like wild fire and had engulfed the society. Religion and state were fighting with each other to gain supremacy over the other. Vemana according to some scholars was the part of administration. Having known the society of his times, Vemana launched his verbal attack on the beliefs, the conventions and the misconceptions of those days. In his attempt to call a spade, he did not spare even Gods. He could successfully stir the time-worn thoughts of the society by creating new ethical ripples. Both Valluvar and Vemana have through their appealing poetic talent, strived to see that the timeless, ever green phoenix of ethics rises once again in this land of honey and milk.

Valluvar and Vemana have preferred the ethic of ' absolute good' to relative good'.[6] They wanted to establish the fact that the God is but one. Thiruvalluvar starts his work with ethical truth: *Ahara mudhala eruthellam adhi bahavan mudhatre ulahu* (All the letters of the alphabet have the letter 'a' as the beginning. Similarly the world has its beginning, the first Lord, the All knower). Vemana too emphasizes the fact that the God is the'All knower'. He says: *Darsanamulu Veru daivamou Nokkit*[7]. (Different schools of thought may say different things. But God is one).

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5. Chakravarthy, *A., Tirukkural,* printed at the Desikan Press, Vepery, Madras 1953, p. IX VIII.

6. *The Columbia Encyclopaedia,* Vol. II, Columbia University Press, N.Y., Second Edition, 1960.

7. *Vemana Padya Ratnākaramu,* Bala Saraswathi Book Depot, Chennai-1, 1983, Stanza no. 213, p. No. 60.

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Like Valluvar who glorifies the importance of अ *(a)* Vemana feels that "*Om*" is an important letter. Here is the relevant stanza: He that will not be entangled in the forest of *(Akṣara)* letter but considering the (nobleness) charms of *(Akṣara)* the indestructible and in this earth adores the prime letter *(Om)* this man shall become imperishable *(Akṣaya)*. This is sufficient *(Verses of Vemana* C.P. Brown, Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi, Hyd. 4, 1967. Verse 114 p. 35). Vemana further explains the universalness of God thus: He exists in the shape of the universe and is the general soul. He is the all witnessing spirit. He hath truly converted himself into the soul. Look at the Universal world. He is himself all and even exists in truth. (*Ibid* . Verse No. 162).

According to our age old ethical belief, we are all puppets in the hand of the Omnipotent God, God the Grand Master moves us and we the pawns move according to his direction. As poet Iqbal says' *"Wohi Hota Hai Jo Manjoor E Khuda Hota Hai"* (Only the will of God prevails and nothing else.) Both Valluvar and Vemana believed in the saying " Mother gives birth to children but each brings with himself his destiny"[8]. About destiny-both good as well as bad-Valluvar says: If evil destiny appears it will produce folly. But when good destiny occurs it will lead to the expansion of knowledge (A Chakravarthi-*Kural* 372) . In *Kural* 376 too Valluvar points out this eternal truth: What is destined not to be your own will slip out however firmly you hold it. Whatever is destined to be yours sticks on to you even when you cast it away (A. Chakravarthy). Like Tulasi Das, the bard of *Rāma Charita Mānasa, Hoga Wahi jo Rāma Rachi Rakha* (Only according to the writings written on forehead). Vemana too feels that nobody can alter the lines that are inscribed by the God on our forehead: The writing written by the hand perishes (spoils) not though thou blot it out (Spoil it). what is written by fate cannot be done away with water. The writing of fate on the forehead can not be removed though rubbed with sorrow (*Verses of Vemana*-Stanza No. 601,p. No. 148). Drawing one example from *Rāmāyaṇa* he explains the indeible quality of God's writing thus: When Daśaratha thought to crown his son Rāma King of earth being deluded he bound his head with merely matted hair-Thus intentions avail nothing for fate rules all (*Verses of Vemana,* Stanza 914, p.220).

Ethically Valluvar and Vemana were against caste system. Prof. A. Chakravarti in his *Introduction to Tirukkural* says: He (Valluvar) did not recognize the legal system either civil or criminal based upon caste distinction . In this respect also it is distinctly in conflict with the ancient Hindu ideal of Law and Justice (p. Ixii). Valluvar considers that all men are equal. In *Kural* 972 he highlights this point thus- *Pirapoku mellavurikuu jira povva seidhoril vetrumain yan* (All men are born equal. The differences among them are entirely due to

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8. *Wisdom English:* Feb. 1999, quotation from page 41.

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their occupation). The word occupation according to some critics glorifies caste system. In *Kural* 134 we come across a statement in support of Brahmins who according to Manu's *Dharma Śāstra* belong to superior caste. The *Kural* reads: If a Brahmin forgets the Vedas he can relearn them with slight effort , but if he loses right conduct he forfeits his higher status in society which is his birth right (A. Chakravarthi). As far as condemnation of caste system is concerned we find greater vehemence in Vemana's verses. The reason for this vehemence may be the influence of Sarvagna on Vemana[9].

Sarvagna says:

Naduvu Donde Bhoomi, Kudiyavu Donde Neeru

Suduvagni yonde Erathivalu

Kula Gothra Naduve Yettanadu Sarvagna (Ibid)

(The land on which we walk is the same .The water we drink is the same. The same fire burns us. Then how come the question of caste and creed arise).[10] Vemana rather prefers to use fiery words to condemn the caste system of the society. Look at this stanza: Why dost again and again abuse as pariar (MALA)? Are not his blood and flesh and thine one? Of what caste is he who is immingled with him ? The deity animates his entire works *(Verses of Vemana* 893). In another stanza he says: Why take thy caste and pride thyself on it. The plant grows where the ground is prepared (*Verses of Vemana* 859).

As per Prof. A. Chakravarti's observation Valluvar was a Jain and a staunch follower of Rishabha Deva's *Ahiṁsā* i.e. non-violence. For the propagation of this cardinal ethic of Jainism, Valluvar has devoted Chapter XXXIII of his *Tirukkural.* Mahatma Gandhi who knew Tamil, would have drawn inspiration from this chapter . The world knows how successful he was in his life. In his famous *Kural* (323) he places the ethic 'not to kill' on a highest pedestal. He says : Not to kill is the one good deep par excellence. Next to this comes the virtue of speaking the truth (A. Chakravarti). In *Kural* 329 he compares those who indulge in killing others to *cāṇḍālas:* Those who are engaged in the work of killing are considered to be *cāṇḍālas*, of heinous occupation, by those who are able to discern evil wherever it is (A. Chakravarti). Valluvar did not believe in the age old ethic eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth. In *Kural* 313 he says the policy of retaliation is bad. He goes one step further and says do good to even those who have harmed you. The *Kural* 314 says: The best way to punish the person who caused injury to you is to make him hang his head in

9. Appa Rao Gandham "Vemana and Sarvagnā , A Comparative Study," *Progressive Literature* 1982, p. 43.

10. Translation by Dr. A.B. Sai Prasad.

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shame by doing good in return: Though Vemana was not a Jain by birth or by faith he firmly believed in the ethic *"Ahiṁsā Paramo dharma "* There are a number of stanzas. where Vemana comes down heavily on those who indulge in killings. He says: What are we to think of the slaughters of these cruel half caste wretches (born out of the limits of the caste) who being themselves rationed slay animals without any offence and guilty and eat them (*Veses of Vemana* 582). Like Valluvar, Vemana too compares the slaughterers to *cāṇḍālas* and says they are better positioned than the slaughterers. He writes: The height of excellence is to abstain from slaying .Thus say the Brahmins, Lords of earth and still commit slaughter of animals in sacrifice. Better is the *cāṇḍāla* who devours dead cattle (*Verses of Vemana* 856). Vemana could foresee that in 21st century the lure of money will encourage poachers to kill animals mercilessly, killing of 13 month old Tigress Saki in Hyderabad Zoo . The incident of peeling the skin of a leopard in Caddapah District of A.P. Leopard Killed near Haridwar. He has condemned them in choicest words. Those wretches (lives) that outfully destroy animals while either sleeping, drinking water or standing still and singing shall at the end in the same manner perish *(Verses of Vemana* 1077). (The reports said the animals of A.P. 200 went on hunger strike to protest the inhuman killing). Vemana firmly believes in the ethics that those who preach by sword will be eliminated by sword. In "*Champa Dagina yathi Satruvu Tana Chetha"* stanzas, Vemana says you pardon even that enemy who has to be executed. Conciliate him by goodness and bid depart, this itself is death to him'. In this similar context Valluvar used the word 'shame'. Vemana in his typical style uses the word death.

Valluvar being a house-holder lays down certain ethics for them. According to him: "Elders on death bed, God, Guests, Relatives and oneself , to cherish these five is the main duty of the householder" (*Kural* 43). A house-holder is expected to support ascetics, the indigents and the destitute ones who take refuge in his house in their last moments (*Kural*-42). Whoever meticulously follows the ethics of Valluvar is bound to get into heaven without any difficulty. He says: If a householder lives his life without swerving from the path of righteousness ordained for him he will occupy the foremost place among all those that strive spiritual realization (*Kural* 47). Valluvar is of the opinion that the happiness of *'Gṛhastha'* (Householder) depends on his understanding and virtuous wife. Stressing this particular point he states: The glory of the household is in the hands of his wife. It she fails in this all other glory in life is as if it did not exist (*Kural* 52). Valluvar frowns at people who indulge in adultery, women who are not chaste and fair sex which takes pleasure in immoral traffic. The qualities which his wife Vasuki had-atleast as per belief-are the ones he prescribes for a housewife. The expression which we find in *Kural* 55 is similar to the expressions of John Milton who is supposed to be a puritan. He (Milton) says a woman has to worship God through her husband and not directly. Vemana being a rationalistic ascetic holds

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diametrically opposite views about women. He adores an ideal house wife but admonishes characterless woman who is given for carnal pleasures. Valluvar in *Kural* 56 defines an ideal wife.Vemana in his style describes the qualities of wife who is not devoted to her husband. He calls her fate but not mate. Here is that relevant stanza: A woman who gives no food or drink is no true wife to her husband. She is rather his destiny. The husband who is united with such a woman perishes without chance of being born again. He will perish degraded and become a reptile *(Verses of Vemana* 752). Having praised the ideal house wife -he wants her to be a better half and not a bitter half-he condemns women in forcible words: composed of desire and cupidity and of stubborn hearts are women. What can we say the conduct of women & faithfulness is their chief virtue. They are in other respects figs, fair without but worms within (*Verses of Vemana* 753).

Valluvar and Vemana have prescribed some social as well spiritual ethics also. Both stress on the importance of truth. Valluvar in *Kural* 292, says that if 'Asatya' (lie) can do good to all, that *Asatya* is better than *Satya*. In *Kural* 300, Valluvar takes truth to sublime heights that there is nothing more valuable than truth. Here is the translations: Of all the virtues that we learn by study of sacred scriptures, we do not find anything more valuable than truth. Vemana outrightly condemns falsehold. He says that alone is mouth (which does not speak falsehood) that daily speaks falsehood is not a mouth but a mouth below (*Verses of Vemana* 885). Vemana further says that a person in public service and who constantly moves with people should always speak truth only. Only then he will be respected (*Vemana Padya Ratnākaram* 2405).

Being very noble in their behaviour as well as their writings both Valluvar and Vemana speak about ethical qualities of Ascetics. *Kural* 981 and 987 speak about that Justice Maharajan touching on this aspect of *Kural* says: Tiruvalluvar conceives his "Sanror" to be sage who has liquidated his ego, who has an unclouded vision of ultimate reality, who is in a perpetual state of bliss, who is full of compassion for his fellowman who has a profound concern for all lives that are in distress on earth and who, without any limitations of caste, creed, community or nation, rushes to help any one in distress and thus practices universal love[11]. Vemana in very simple words explains the qualities of a *Yogī* thus: He who looks upon rain, mind and sunshine as equal and abstains from thinking of honour or the like and continues in subjection. This is a stout hearted saint *(Verses of*

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11. *Tiruvalluvar, S.* Maharajan, Sahitya Academy, New Delhi-1100-01. First published 1979, p. 83.

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Vemana). Valluvar and Vemana are of the opinion that the wealth of rich man should be spent on worthy causes which can benefit poor. Valluvar has in chapter 22 *(Kurals* from 211 to 220) given details about how wealth has to be distributed. Vemana says a rich should arrange for community feast-*Saha Paṅkti Bhojanam.* He should strive to wipe out caste discrimination *(Vemana Padya Ratnākaram* 280).

Both Valluvar and Vemana have propagated pure vegetarianism. They were against the consumption of liquor. Both have said that the anger is to be conquered and desire to be curbed. They have stated that all that is white is not milk and all that is black is not water. They have warned humanity not to go by the outward. In *Kural* 279 he says judge not men by their appearance, judge them by their deeds. Vemana says " salt and comphor look alike, but if you examine and try the flavours then tastes differ". Thus do the virtuous differ from the ordinary (Translation by Prof. G.N. Reddy). About the virtuous, Vemana says: Only that man is living who feels the sufferings of his fellowman as being his own (Tr. By Prof. N.D. Sundaravelu).

As far as the ethics of four *Puruṣārtha's Dharma, Artha , Kāma* and *Mokṣa*-are concerned, one finds fundamental difference between Valluvar and Vemana. Valluvar has spoken about only the first three *Puruṣārthas.* The critics of Valluvar are of the opinion that Valluvar did not take up *Mokṣa* because the by-product of first three Puruṣārtha will be *Mokṣa.* That which one automatically gets by following *Dharma, Artha & Kāma,* need not be stressed upon. Vemana being a *Yogī* -Critics like Dr. Gandharan Appa Rao may not relish the *Yogī* suffixed or prefixed to Vemana's name-is of the opinion that unless you give up the first three you cannot get the fourth one. He says 'Being a wise man to get the fourth one i.e. *Mokṣa* give up the other three i.e. *Dharma, Artha and Kāma' (Vemana Padya Ratnākaram* 1213).

As different rivers flow towards the same ocean Humanist Valluvar and Rationalist Vemana approach the same truth from different directions. Having viewed the truth from different angles they have once again proved the fact that truth is one, sages call it variously *(Ekam sat viprā bahudhā vadanti).* Though the time and language divide them-Valluvar and Vemana-common idealogy and thought unite them. They are the sentinels of our ancient land Bhārata. We owe our past, present and even future to them.

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DEVAVIMALA AND HIS HĪRASAUBHĀGYAM

SATYA VRAT*

Contrary to Māgha who influenced the successive generations of poets so heavily, that there emerged a powerful Māgha School of poetry, Śrīharṣa, the celebrated author of the *Naiṣadhacaritam* evoked, if at all , small following . His fetish for misplaced pedantry and far-fetched conceits served to deter the subsequent poets from the perilous course charted by him. Of the few writings that felt bold to perpetuate the *Naiṣadha* tradition. Devavimala's *Hīrasaubhāgyam* (HS)[1] deserves esteem for its poetic excellences and the plethora of other qualities . It means to detail in seventeen hefty cantos the eventful career of Hīravijaya Sūri with poetic fanfare but with a fidelity that it has come to assume an aura of a historical writing.

Devavimala and His date

Notwithstanding its stupendous bulk, the HS is void of the autobiographic details. The concluding verse uniformly repeated at the close of each canto, also ,does not go beyond revealing that Devavimal's father Śivā was a wealthy merchant (Sādhumaghavā) and his mother's name was Saubhāgyadevī, which seems to be implied by the title of the poem as well. However, the *Praśasti* to the poem provides valuable information about his spiritual genealogy. We learn on its authority that Devavimala was heir to the rich tradition of mighty scholars and spiritual preceptors. His grand teacher Jagarsi had been instrumental in relieving the Saurāṣṭra, region of the scourge of the Lumpākas who had overwhelmed the land like a mass of darkness.[2] His successor Sīhavimala, known for his eloquence and scholarly pursuits, had vanquished the well known orator Gautama in a disputation as convincingly as Devasūri had defeated Kumudacandra[3] . Sīhavimala had a brilliant pupil in Devavimala, the author of the HS which bears testimony to his poetic talents and profound equipment in many a discipline. The auto-commentary with which he has sought

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*7/34 Purani Abadi, Near Namdev Flour Mills, Sri Ganganagar (Raj.).

1. *Kāvyamālā,* 67.
2. *Praśastisūtram,* 7-8.
3. *Ibid.* 12-13.

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to resolve the poem is a virtual store-house of a wide range of knowledge.

It is rather intriguing that the HS, its auto-commentary and the *Praśasti* make no reference whatsoever to the date of the author . Other sources are also not very helpful though it is they that lead us out of the blind alley. Dharmasāgara Gaṇi's Marathi *Guruparivāḍī* was issued under the title *Śrītapāgacchapaṭṭāvalīsūtram* alongwith the Sanskrit *Vṛtti* thereon. The Vṛtti confirms it that the Guruparivāḍī had undergone revision in V.S. 1684 (1627 A.D.) and the exercise was preceded by many a transcript of the work. It is therefore certain that the *Guruparivāḍī* had been composed well before V.S. 1684. The statement in the *Vṛtti* that poems like the HS form a reliable source of Hīravijaya's career proves it beyond doubt that the better part of the HS had been written still earlier than V.S. 1684. But the fact that the poem refers to Hīravijaya's death as well, would place it after 1652 V.S., the year he shed his mortal coil.[4]

In his edition of the *Paṭṭāvalīsamuccaya* Darśanavijaya tends to believe supposedly on the authority of the *Praśasti*, that the HS was begun to be composed in V.S. 1639 and concluded in V.S. 1671. But the *Praśasti* to the HS contains no such reference[5]. Is a part of the *Praśasti* lost or the editor has erred in quoting it ?

His assertion in the introduction that the HS was composed between V.S. 1639 and V.S. 1656, though not supported by independent evidence, may not be wholly off the mark as some of the events pertaining to V.S. 1656 are found included in the poem. If accepted on the face of it, it would show that it took the HS about sixteen years to be completed. A baffling proposition indeed ! The auto-commentary was written in V.S. 1671 (1614 A.D.)[6]. Devavimala may thus be placed in the later half of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, between 1550 and 1620 A.D.

Theme

With 2789 verses, the HS is undoubtedly a massive poem. It is a measure of its bulk that most of the cantos consist of more than a hundred verses. The number frighteningly swells to three hundred in canto four.

The biography of Hīravijaya, as attempted in the poem, consists of two segments comprising nine and eight cantos respectively . Born at Prahlādanapura in Gujarat to wealthy

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4. *Hīrasaubhāgyam,* XVII. 157, Unnatapur Inscription, line one.

5. Kapadia, Hira Lal : *'Hīrasaubhāgyanūm Rekhādarśana'* (Gujarati), *Jaina Satya Prakāśa,* Vol. 17, No.7, p.136 .

6. *Ibid.* , Vol. 17, Nos. 8-9, p. 163.

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parents Kurān and Nāthī, Hīra flowers into a promising boy. Shaken by the untimely death of his parents, he opts for asceticism and is ordained into monkhood by Vijayadāna Sūri in V.S. 1596 at the tender age of thirteen. His spiritual and mental equipment brought him quick elevation to the coveted rank of *Ācārya* in V.S. 1610, barely fifteen years after his joining the order. He thereafter came to be known by the happy name of Hīravijaya. Vijayadāna made over to him his newly initiated pupil Jayasimha before he breathed his last at Vaṭapallikā.

Canto ten is addressed to detailing Hīravijaya's manifold qualities of head and heart by the courtiers in response to Akbar's searching query about possibly the most learned and sublime saint of the day. In deference to the emperor's summons, conveyed to him through Sahib Khan , the governor of Gujarat , Hīravijaya leaves for Fatehpur Sikri in the belief that the meeting with the Mughal emperor would result in the elevation of *dharma*. Hīravijaya had his first meeting with Abu-l-Fazal, the learned minister and friend of Akbar,which was enlivened by a thorough discussion on the precepts of Islam. In the meeting with Akbar that followed, Hīravijaya explained at some length the true nature of *dharma* , teacher and God. Akbar was greatly impressed by the monk's compassion, high moral conduct and self denial which shunned even the luxury of an humble vehicle. Hīravijaya's second meeting with the emperor took place after his stay at Agra for four months of the rainy season. He subjected the tricky problem of *sadasat* to a threadbare discussion and sought to establish with powerful logic the supremacy of the Jainistic faith. Akbar was so delighted by his wisdom and eloquence that he offered the *Ācārya* rich presents which he politely declined as being contrary to the rigorous norms of a monk When persistently pressed, he sought the release of the prisoners and a ban on animal - slaughter during the eight days of *Paryuṣaṇa*. The emperor readily agreed and conferred on him six *Īrmans* to that effect. He addedly bestowed upon the *Ācārya* the grandiloquent title of *Jagadguru*. Akbar subsequently abolished the infamous tax on the Hindus and made over the ownership of Śatruñjaya to the *Ācārya*. Hīravijaya thereafter left for pilgrimage to the holy mount, which is exhaustively described in the poem. With Hīravijaya's death at Unnatapura, the poem comes to a close.

While the tall objective of spinning out a counterpart to the *Naiṣadhacarita* has provided Devavimala a vast canvas, it has tended to rob him of the potential to impart homogenity to the theme. Though the story in the poem is not scanty in any way, Devavimala does not seem to be interested in its successful execution. In a bid to admit the plethora of time-worn poetic motifs, he has transplanted in the poem such descriptions as hardly accord with its genius. The *Bharatacarita* in canto two, geneological tables of the earlier pontiffs in canto four, exhaustive depiction of the natural phenomena and the

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sequential description of the female charms do not have much of connection with the basic theme. The three cantos (XII, XV- XVI) which have been virtually squandered away on the description of Ābu and Śatruñjaya are also loosely strung to the story. As a matter of fact, it is these cantos that have marred the serenity of the poem, though their worth for sectarian glorification is beyond question, nor are they shorn of poetic beauties. The contents of the three could well have been compressed into a solitary canto without impairing their effect. They have been worked up to emulate and parallel the philosophical speculations set forth in canto seventeen of the NC, but have sunk into a state catalogue of the Jainistic rituals. Like the *Naiṣadhacarita* the execution of the story in the HS has taken the back seat, and the poem is brimming with a spectrum of descriptions that cannot always be claimed to harmonize with the theme. The redeeming feature is that Devavimala is equipped with powerful poetic talents that serve to enliven the poem which may well be rated as a watered down Jaina version of the *Naiṣadhacarita* (NC.).

Hīrasaubhāgya and Naiṣadhacarita: A Comparative Appraisal

Despite wide divergences in the story and the consequent restricted avenues of imitation, Devavimala has followed Śrīharṣa so closely, on count more than one, that the HS has received a heavy sprinbkling of Śrīharṣa's ideas and phraseology. The description of Prahlādanapura in canto one of the HS is based on and inspired by the corresponding depiction of Kuṇḍinapura in the second canto of the NC. Like Śrīharṣa the author of the HS also appears to be keen to illustrate the various features prescribed by the poeticians as inalienable ingredients of the description of the town.[7] Srīharṣa has not refrained from indulging in philosophic gimmicks and far-fetched conceits even in the innocuous description of the town. Devavimala's description of Prahlādanapura, on the other hand, deserves esteem, for its sweet phraseology and imaginative application of the *aprastutaṣ*. Besides the trivialities, he, however, shares with Śrīharṣa some of the ideas[8] that had settled down subsequently as poetic motifs.

In imitation of Śriharṣa Devavimala has detailed the female charms at two places in his poem. *The nakhaśikha* depiction of Nāthi's beauties in canto two is so poetic and lively that in comparison to it the description of Damayantī sounds insipid. Devavimala has sought to parallel Damayantī's portrayal in canto Seven by an equally exhaustive description of the beauties of the Presiding deity, the *Śāsanadevatā* . In a bid to detail the whole gamut of

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7. उद्याने सरणिः सर्वफलपुष्पलताद्रुमाः।

पिकालिकेलिहंसाद्याः क्रीडा वाप्यध्वगस्थितिः।। *Kāvyakalpalatāvṛtti* , I.5. 68.

8. NC , II 93-94; HS, I. 71; NC, 79; HS, I. 72; NC, II. 87; HS I. 118 etc.

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her person sequentially, Devavimala has no qualms turning the deity into a lesser mortal. Both the descriptions of physical charms in the HS are heavily indebted to canto Seven of the NC and bear striking resemblance with it both in language and ideas,[9] though they betray certain divergences as well . While Śrīharṣa is lost in the labyrinth of philosophy, grammar and other *Śāstras*, Devavimala's description is more balanced and attractive.

Though different in contents, canto five of the HS is heavily influenced by Śrīharṣa's fifteenth canto and bristles with verbal and other similarities to the extent that it would be justified to call it an independent version of the said canto of the NC. Hīra's adornments prior to his initiation *(dīkṣā)* are reminiscent of the pre-marital embellishments of Nala and Damayantī. Devavimala is so enamoured of the description that he has smugly reproduced it in a thinly garbed phraseology[10]. However, the description in the HS is largely free from abstruseness and is therefore more lively and effective.

The depiction of the impatience of the womenfolk to see Hīra as he leaves to embrace asceticism (V. 158-179) owes itself to the corresponding piece in the NC (XV. 74-92) . More than the ideas, Devavimala has borrowed the motif which otherwise seems to have its genesis in Aśvaghoṣa . Both, however, concur in perceiving the half-bared breast as an auspicious *ghaṭa* and seek to compare the pearls issuing from the necklace with a mass of *lājās* (fried rice)[11].

In obedience to the rhetorical precepts both Śrīharṣa and Devavimala have described at length the natural phenomena in their respective poems. The exhaustive description of the moon rise in canto XXII of the NC forms an apt background to the enjoyment of Nala and Damayantī The corresponding description in the HS. serves as a backdrop to the emergence of the Śāsandevī. Despite the fact that there is not much similarity between the two, Devavimala's description is more brilliant and vibrant because of the judicious application of the *aprastutas*.

Both the NC and HS are weighed down with a plethora of *aprastutas*. In Śriharṣa they are *Śāstric* and far-fetched for the most and thereby tend to blur, if not blunt, the expression. Devavimala's *aprastutas,* on the other hand, are, by and large, modest and balanced and contribute to the clarity of the subject under description.

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9. NC , VII, 23, 64, 77, 101, 87, 60, 27; HS, II. 18, 24, 41, VIII. 28, 51, 130, 135 etc. etc.

10. NC , XV. 25, HS, V. 101; NC XV. 32, HS , V. 107 etc. etc.

11. NC ,XV. 74; HS, V. 170; NC, I. 64.; HS, V. 140.

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The NC to Devavimala is venerable like a sacred text. He is indebted to it not only for a host of ideas and verbal similarities, he has also borrowed a host of recondite grammatical forms from it, and has gratefully acknowledged the debt in the auto-commentary.[12]

Rasa

Its poetic excellences and peculiarities apart, the HS means to project in essential the bliss of *mokṣa* as a counterweight to human bondage and the resultant suffering. In order to realise the sublime objective, the impermanence of life, hollowness of the worldly pleasures and the efficacy of self-restraint have been highlighted in the poem with a measure of tenacity. The exercise has culminated in the emergence of the *Śāntarasa* with an intensity that it settles down as the principal sentiment in the poem. The HS thus adhers to the rhetorical precepts which insist upon choosing, the *aṅgī -rasa* from the trinity of *Śṛṅgāra, Vīra* and *Śānta*[13]. Devavimala is convinced that a poem finds its fulfilment in quietism: *praśāntaiḥ rasaih pūritaḥ pūrṇakāmo bhavān* (XI. 94). The *ālambana vibhāvas* of quietitude emphatically emerge in the spiritual parleys between Hīravijaya and the Mughal emperor. It also finds powerful expression in the sermons of Vijayadāna Sūri in canto five which serve to underscore in a touching vein the hollowness of worldly existence, wealth and grandeur.[14] The *Śāntarasa,* however, emerges in glory in the way Hīravijaya's detachment is highlighted in the poem. The grandeur of the ascetic is no way inferior to the royal glory of the mighty Mughal !

विश्वे वेश्मनि तारमौक्तिकनभश्चन्द्रोदयभ्राजिनि

ज्योतिस्तैलभृतौषधिप्रियतमे स्नेहप्रियोद्भासिनि ।

आश्लिष्योपशमश्रियं निजभुजागण्डोपधानांकिते

पर्यंके जगतीतले सुखममी भूमीशवच्छेरते ॥ [15] HS XIII. 208.

Vīra, Śṛṅgāra, Vātsalya, Adbhuta and Karuṇa are the ancillary sentiments that join the *aṅgī-rasa* to heighten the aesthetic pleasure in the peom. The description of Akbar's

12. For a detailed discussion on the subject, see my *'Studies in Jaina Sanskrit Literature.'* Delhi, 1994, p. 153-163.

13. *Sāhityadarpaṇa,* VI. 317.

14. HS, V. 15, 22, 24-25.

15. Compare: मही रम्या शय्या विपुलमुपधानं भुजलता etc. Bhartṛhari, *Vairāgyaśataka,* 73.

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digvijaya in the HS may be imaginary but it serves to bring out in relief his valour and war-skill. To Devavimala the warrior represents the embodiment of the Heroic sentiment. *Sāṅgā iva kvacana vīrarasāśca vīrāḥ* (IX.91). It may be unkind to run down Devavimala's *Vīrarasa* as typically courtly, but it at places doubtless conveys such as impression. It is best exemplified by the verse that follows.

यत्कीर्तिविद्विषदकीर्तिहतप्रतीपा-

सृक्पंक्तिजह्नुतरणि द्रुहिणांगजाभिः ।

जन्यावनी यदवनीशशिनस्त्रिवेणी-

संगः किमाविरभवत्त्रिदिवाभिकानाम् ॥ [16] HS X .27.

The fame *(kīrti)* brought to Akbar by his *digvijaya* represents the holy Ganges, the ignominy of defeat *(akīrti)* of the ememy, on the other hand, represents the Yamunā. The stream of blood that flowed on the battle-field symbolises the latent Sarasvati. The presence of the three sacred rivers has turned the battle field into Prayāga, the holy *Saṅgama.* The brave warriors, as they bathe at this sacred *Triveṇī* repair to the heavens (die), as the fortunate who take the holy dip at the Confluence enjoy the bliss of heaven.

The HS does not afford much avenues for the *Śṛṅgāra* to sprout. Otherwise also, it is at odd with quietism, the principal sentiment. It, however, asserts itself with some strength in the depiction of the youthful enjoyments of Hīra's parents. The peers of Rati and Kāma, they are all too keen to enjoy themselves to their hearts' content (II. 56, 61).

While Hīra's childhood pranks culminate in the development of *Vātsalya*, some of the events in the poem lead to the emergence of the Wonderous Sentiment. The presiding deity Padmāvatī mysteriously rises from the Ocean to pull back the sea-merchant Sāgara from the brink of suicide (XVII). The recovery of the Jina-image from the sea instantly puts to rest the turbulence it had been undergoing for quite some time (XVII 40, 46). *Karuṇa*

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16. Compare:

द्वेष्याकीर्तिकलिन्दशैलसुतया नद्यास्य यद् दोर्द्वयी

कीर्तिश्रेणिमयी समागममगाद् गङ्गा रणप्राङ्गणे ।

तत्तस्मिन्विनिमज्य बाहुजभटैरारम्भि रम्भापरी-

रम्भानन्दनिकेतनन्दनवनक्रीडादराडम्बरः ॥ NC., XII .12.

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manifests itself in the wails of Vijayasena on the death of his preceptor Hīravijaya Sūri. However, the pathos in the HS lacks the sting . It is confined for the most to the piteous screamings and cursing the fate, besides recounting the virtues of the departed soul (XVII. 203).

Depiction of Nature

The HS provides a vast canvass to draw lovely sketches of a broad spectrum of natural phenomena. The exhaustive depiction of the beauties of nature in what after all is a biographic peom invests it with charm and vibrance. It may symbolise the author's love for nature, but the real objective of Devavimala in frequently punctuating the burly poem with kaleideoscopic charms, of the natural phenomena seems to be to vie with Śrīharśa's *magnum opus* and thereby perpetuate the trend assiduously fostered by his mentor.

While Devavimala excels in delineating nature in its various forms, his predilection for the ornate style is more pronounced. His flamboyance has often manifested itself in the from of the *aprastutas* which themselves appear mostly in the garb of *Utprekṣā,* though *Śleṣa* and *Arthāntaranyāsa* etc. are also interwoven therein with admirable finesse. Contrary to Śrīharṣa, Devavimala has been chary not to overdo his *aprastutas,* though his skill in conjuring up more than one *aprastuta* for the wide range of his *prastutas* is beyond question. In describing the *Sāndhyarāga* and *Candrodaya* in canto seven and day break in canto nine, he seems to have opened the floodgates of *aprastutas.* The stars gently twinkling in the sky appear to be so many flowers scattered by the night to welcome her lover, the moon (VII.55). They are also perceived as the drops of sweat fallen from the body of the lady of the sky engaged in dalliance with the gallant of the day (VII. 57). The lovely orb of moon seems to be a white lotus in bloom on which is perched a black bee (VII. 72). In Devavimala's perception the sun has plunged in the occidental sea to make friends with Varuṇa to secure from him the noose to fetter his eternal foe Rāhu (IX. 37).

Some of the *aprastutas* worked up in detailing the natural phenomena are, however, far- fetched, rather etheral. It is thus given to Devavimala to view the stars as a garland of skulls (VII. 60) or the Sun- light as the stream of blood of the elephants of darkness, slain by Hari (Lion, Sun) [IX. 68].

Devavimala's fascination for the *aprastutas* is matched by an equally admirable expertise in personifying the nature. The phenomenon seems to have reached its climax in canto seven where the banal sight of Sun-set has been invested for the most with human garb. The figures of speech like *Rūpaka, Śleṣa, Upamā* and *Samāsokti* have come handy for the purpose. The *Kamalinī* and bees are thus described to conduct themselves like a Padminī *nāyikā* and youthful gallants respectively. The bees having engaged the *Kamalinī* in the

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amorous game for long, have no use for 'her' and are therefore deserting 'her' in the evening as the gallants discard the lady- love after enjoying her to their content[17]. In the lovely description of the day- break the eastern quarter is conceived as a pregnant woman. As a woman, languid with pregnancy, discards her ornaments and turns pale, so the eastern quarter pregnant with Sun, has done away with the ornament like stars and is overcome by languor (II. 112).

Unlike Śrīharṣa, the nature in Devavimala hardly acts as an inflaming agent. But it is found to perform this function in the description of the rainy season. While the rumblings of the cloud serve to revive Kāma and thus torment the separated folk, the flashes of lightening, reduce them to ashes like the fiery missiles (XIII. 101, 103).

Devavimala has used the natural phenomenon as a standard of comparison as well. First emaciated because of longings *(dohada)* and then happy on their fulfilment, Nāthī invited comparison with a forest-ground which is shorn of leaves in Phālguna but is covered with thick foliage in the month of Caitra (III.12). The apt *upamāna* serves to highlight effectively Nāthī's weakness and plumpness at different stages of pregnancy.

Depiction of Physical Beauties

Not unlike the beauties of nature, the physical charms of the *Dramatic Personae*, as drawn in the HS also rest on a broad spectrum of *aprastutas*. In imitation of Śrīharṣa, the author of the HS has described the female beauties in two cantos, in the time-worn *nakhaśikha* style. While the description of Nāthī's charms is sketchy, those of Padmāvatī. the *Śāsanadevata,* have been minutely detailed from top to bottom,[18] in a gorgeous style much in the manner of Śrīharṣa . Both the descriptions in Devavimala are highly influenced by the NC and are replete with a host of verbal reminiscences and ideas thereof. Devavimala's description does not overstep decency, nor is it overwhelmed with fantastic imagery. Śrīharṣa has gleefully described Damayantī's female privy part, Devavimala has mercifully stopped at the pelvis of the presiding deity. The depiction of physical beauties in the HS pulsates with uncommon charm . It is because of Devavimala's skill in mustering the appropriate *aprastutas* that Nāthī appears' a roving stage of the actor of *Śṛṅgāra*'(II. 16) and Śāsanadevī 'an armoury of Cupid' (VIII. 167).

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17. सरोजिनीकोशकुचौ निषीड्याधरच्छदे पीतरसैः स्ववातात् ।

मीलन्मुखी कम्पमिषान्निषेदुर्ध्री जहे महेलेव युवत्वद् द्विरेफैः ॥ HS. VII. 29.

18. नखरशिखरादारभ्येति क्रमाच्चिकुरावधि ।

प्रथितसुषमामाश्लिष्यन्ती पुरः शुशुभे प्रभोः ॥ HS. VIII. 170.

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The majority of *aprastutas* worked up by Devavimala serve to highlight the beauties of the respective parts with admirable clarity . Nāthī's nose appears to be the staff of glory set up by Kāma to commemorate his victory over the three worlds while the brows above it (nose) form a banner fluttering on the staff (II.22). The pelvis of the deity is the abode of Rati fashioned out of fear of Śambhu so that he may not burn her down like her husband, the Cupid (VIII. 43).

The complex and laboured *aprastutas* employed by Devavimala, on the other hand, tend to confuse the description. In a bid to describe Hīra's lips, for example, Devavimala has indulged in a monstrosity of sorts. The poet is convinced that the parrot of his shapely nose is caught in the fetters of his ears and is struggling hard to release itself. In the exercise, the bimb fruit has suddenly slipped from its beak. On reaching his (Hīra's) mouth, it has assumed the form of his lips (III. 94). It is equally funny to compare his teeth with a row of swans (III. 87). To the author the ears of the Śāsanadevī have the appearance of number nine (9) because she, in his view, has surpassed in beauty the ladies of all the eighteen continents (9x2 =18) [VIII. 142]. And it is grotesque to view the eye-brows as sticks to support the decreipt Kāma (VIII.148).

Because of its fearsome prolixity, the depiction of physical charms in the HS involves a lot of tautology. His imagination seems to have stunted under the weight of elaboration. He was therefore constrained to repeat quite a few of the ideas in canto eight[19].

Aprastutas in the HS

The HS is marked by a rich wealth of *aprastutas* which bear witness to the author's wide equipment and fertile imagination. As noted earlier, they manifest themselves in a variety of *alaṁkāras*. The *aprastutas* in Devavimala may broadly be classified in three categories-*Śāstric*, traditional and those derived from everyday life.

Devavimala's *Śāstric aprastutas* stem from Philosophy, Purāṇas and Astrology. Some of them are doubtless tough, if not abstruse. The true import of नश्यन्निवान्यजनहृत्परमाणुमध्ये (X.106) can be understood only if it is known that the *manas* in Nyāya is taken to be of the form of atom. The astrological marks existed on Hīra's body in perfect harmony with no contradiction whatsoever, as an unblemished *Upamāna* in logic does not suffer deviation under any circumstances (III. 80). Hīravijaya stayed at Śākhāpura *en route* to Sikari as the *Carama Śarīrī Jiva* has to undergo the *kṣapaṇaka* stage before he attains the bliss of perfect knowledge *kaivalya* (XIII.93) .

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19. See -HS., VIII. 44; II 47; II. 25; VIII. 97; II. 48; VIII. 40; III. 110; VIII. 50 etc.

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Devavimala has deep fascination for the *aprastutas* based on astrology. Hīravijaya came from Agra to Fatehpur Sikri again after the rainy season as Bṛhaspati enters the elevating *Karka* constellation from the sign of Zodiac *Mithuna* (XIV.93). Sthāna Siṁha rushed to Abu-l-Fazal to inform him of the *Acārya's* arrival at Sikri as the planet *Budha* (mercury) moves closer to Sun (XIII.121). The simile can be properly appreciated if it is remembered that *Budha* in astrology is considered to be a friend of Sūrya.

The other *aprastutas* are those that are not strictly *Śāstric* but smack of the same phenomenon, strained as they seem to be. With a view to strike at Śaṅkara's five faces, Kāma deposited five arrows of fingers in the quiver of Nāthī's hand (II. 37), but, he soon realised that it was well-nigh impossible to trounce the mighty lord with such missiles. He, therefore, created a potent discus in the form of broad hips of Nāthī and Śāsanadevī to wreck Śaṅkara for ever (II. 47, VIII. 4).

The *aprastutas* that owe their genesis to day -to day life are certainly interesting and merit esteem for their aptness. They have mostly assumed the garb of *Utprekṣā* which serves to invests the description with quite some charm .The redness in the evening -sky thus appears as if it were the sap of *alaktaka* spilt on the sky as it slipped from the hand of the toilet maid engaged in adorning the heavenly nymphs (VII. 40). The hair of the Śāsanadevī with the parting-line adorned with vermillion has been ingeniously viewed as a mass of clouds interspersed with the flashes of lightening (VIII. 164).

Characterisation

The HS is notable for a variety of characters .Rich merchants, beautiful women, recluses, kings and philosophers are found to rub shoulders in the poem.

The two characters that stand out prominently are doubtless Hīravijaya and Akbar, who are emperors in their right. An embodiment of Saintliness, Hīravijaya emerges as the principal character who has all the trappings of a *nāyaka*. The virtues that lend added sheen to his towering stature are indeed tranquility and self-abnegation. Not a blade of grass he craves for himself. The high-sounding sobriquet of *Jagadguru* bestowed upon him by the emperor was but a small recognition of his moral, religions and literary excellences.

Akbar represents an amazing mix of a host of virtues . He is a restless soul, ever keen to divine the true nature of religion. He is always open to new ideas on religion and is a true follower of *non-absolutism (anekāntavāda)*, so dear to the Jainas.

Language etc.

Devavimala has sought to highlight his concept of poetry with a *double entendre*. To him lucidity *(prasāda)*, brightness *(kānti)* , winsome phraseology, moderate *Śleṣa*, judicious

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application of *alaṁkāra* and appropriate *aprastutas* form the essence of poetry[20].All these characteristics are found in the HS in an appropriate measure. The worth of its language stems from lucidity which in turn rests on diaphanous simplicity. Though heavily indebted to Śrīharṣa on more than one count, Devavimala has no fascination for his pedantic language and inverted style. He has doubtless borrowed a number of intricate grammatical forms from the NC but he has successfully resisted the temptation of turning his language into a far fetched affair. The HS therefore represents an attractive combine of *prasāda* and *kānti*. The undercurrent of lucidity flows unimpeded in the better part of the poem. The pen-picture of Hīravijaya's Brāhmaṇa teacher merits attention for the way it musters phraseology which goes the whole hog to reflect the personality of the ritualistic Brāhmaṇa in its totality[21].

Devavimala's poem is to be admired for the sweetness of its phraseology which emanates from the sane use of alliteration. It, more than anything else, bespeaks the author's refined taste and expertise in handling the language. The poem is enlivened throughout by sweet and polished alliteration. The dictum '*Hīrasaubhāgye padalālityam*' is as true as '*Naiṣadhe padalālityam*'. The beauty of the HS is that it has evoked sweet phraseology to accord with each sentiment, context and situation. The phraseology used in highlighting the disciplined conduct of Hīravijaya is as sweet and heart-warming as the language used for detailing the *Vīrarasa* (XIII.207, X. 15).

The sweetness of phraseology in the HS springs as much from alliteration as from the *Vaidarbhī* style which is distinguished by moderate compounds or complete absence thereof. One hardly comes across long compounds in the HS. Even in detailing Akbar's *digvijaya* long compounds have been meticulously shunned though they would have contributed to

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20. प्रसादकान्ती दधती सुवर्णालंकारिणी रम्यतमक्रमा च ।

संश्लेषदक्षा प्रतिमोपमानश्रीः श्लोकमालेव पुरी चकासे ॥ HS., VIII. 27.

21. मृडमूर्धनिवाससौहृदान्मिलितु जह्नुसुतामिवागताम् ।

अलिकार्धविधुं ललाटिकां वहमानो हरिचन्दनोद्भवाम् ॥ HS., VI. 52.

उपवीतमुरःस्थलान्तरे कलयंश्चन्दनचन्द्रचर्चितः ।

दमनो मदनस्य मूर्तिमानिव वैकक्षितकुण्डलीश्वरः ॥ HS., VI. 53.

शिववाङ्मयवार्धिपारगोऽनिशषट्कर्मरतो व्रतान्वितः ।

वपुरभ्युपगत्य वर्णिनामिव धर्मः प्रकेटीभवन्नयम् ॥ HS., VI. 54.

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the heightening of the effect. Of the later poets, *Paṇḍitarāja* Jagannātha is the sole poet who comes close to Devavimala so far as *padalālitya* is concerned.

Devavimala has no love for laboured language and ponderous diction. But as a scholar well-equipped in grammar, he has liberally admitted a host of intricate grammatical forms. He revels in the use of Perfect, Aorist, denominatives and forms with *kvasu* suffix.[22] But he is aware of the fact that the beauty of the language lies in its natural ease, and not complexity. That seems to account for why he has not overdone his language though his expertise in the dubious game is beyond question.

In view of his equipment in grammar, it is surprising that some of the forms in the HS do not accord with Pāṇinian rules (XIV. 199, XVII. 196). His language is also tarnished by some other oddities. Devavimala's loves for flamboyance has led him into coining quaint expressions. *Śacīkāntaharim mahīdhare* (II. 71), *giram stotravartmādhvanīnām praṇīya* (XI. 13), *jaladhibhavanajambhārātisāraṅgacakṣur digavanidhara mūrdhālambibimbau dinādau* (XV.8) etc.etc. Suffer from the poetic blemish known as *kliṣṭatā*. Being connected with some Muslim characters, it was natural for certain Persian words like *Śekh, Fate, Khudā Gāzī, Sphuramāna (firman), Bhisti (Bahiśta*-heaven), *Doyaki (Dozakh* -hell) to creep into the poem.

Devavimala does not favour extravagant use of the *alaṁkāras. Aprastutas* form the heart of his scheme of the figures of speech. How they have been instrumental in landing clarity to the expression has been comprehensively illustrated earlier. Such *aprastutas* as tend to stifle the subject /idea under description are not many. It also hardly brooks repetition that most of the *aprastutas* in the HS have appeared in the garb of *Utprekṣā, Atiśayokti, Aprastutapraśaṁsā , Arthāntaranyāsa* etc.

The HS betrays an astounding variety of similes. Devavimala has culled the *upamānas* for his similes from as varied sources as Philosophy, Purāṇas , nature and day-to-day life. The boy Hīra entered into the *Śāstra* through the alphabets as a passenger enters the city through the city gate (III.75). Akbar was eagerly awaiting Hīravijaya to come as the Cuckoo waits for the spring (XI. 79). The news of the *Ācārya's* arrival at Ahmedabad spread all around as the smell of the sandal spreads in the valley of the Malaya mount. (XI. 115).

Samāsokti[23] *,Arthāntaranyāsa*[24] *, Atiśayokti*[25] *Anuprāsa* and *Parisaṁkhya*[26] are the other *alaṁkāras* that have caught the author's fancy. The *Śleṣa* in the HS is easy of comprehension. The epithet *'Saṁśleṣadakṣā'* has to be understood in this sense. The HS is a virtual thesaurus of *Upamā* and *Utprekṣā*.

22. HS , XIII. 75, XIV. 48, II. 88 etc. etc.

23-26 HS, I. 97, VII. 46, VIII. 138, XIII. 211.

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Devavimala is well-grounded in the science of prosody. The fact that he has employed longer metres like *Vasantatilakā* , *Mālinī* and *Pṛthvī* as the dominant metres in the respective cantos is a pointer to his confidence in handling the metre with authority. With 24, the fourteenth canto has claimed the maximum number of metres. These include metres like *Vātormī, Upasthita, Candravartma, Kusumavicitrā ,Bhramaravilasita* which are met with elsewhere only occasionally. Devavimala has special fondness for *Upajāti* . It is this metre that has been used most extensively in the HS which has claimed thirty one metres in all.

Devavimala was driven by the zeal to produce a Jaina counterpart of the *Naiṣadhacarita* . He has not been mercifully swept away by the gimmicks that combined to turn the NC into a *Śāstra* of sorts. Because of his aversion to pedantry, he has been able to contribute a poem, which merits high esteem for manifold poetic excellences and the reliability of its account.

Appendix

Unnatapur Praśasti

स्वस्ति श्री सम्वत् १६५२ वर्षे कार्तिकबदी ५ बुधे येषां जगद्गुरूणां संवेगवैराग्यसौभाग्यादिगुणश्रवणांतश्चमत्कृतै र्महाराजाधिराजपातिशाहि श्रीअकबराभिधानैः गुर्जरदेशात् दिल्लीमण्डले सबहुमानमाकार्य धर्मोपदेशाकर्णनपूर्वकं पुस्तककोशसमर्पणं, डाबराभिधानमहासरोमत्स्यवधनिवारणं, प्रतिवर्षं षाण्मासिकामारिप्रवर्त्तनं , सर्वदा श्रीशत्रुंजयमुंडकाभिधानकरनिवर्तनं, जीजियाभिधानकरकर्त्तनं, निजसकलदेशदाण-मृतस्वमोचनं, सदैव बंदीयऋणनिवारण-मित्यादिधर्मकृत्यानि प्रवर्तितानि । तेषां श्रीशत्रुंजये सकलदेशसंघयुतकृतयात्राणां भाद्रपदशुक्लैकादशीदिने जातनिर्वाणां (णानां) शरीरसंस्कारस्थानासन्नफलितसहकाराणां श्रीहीरविजयसूरीश्वराणां प्रतिदिनं दिव्यवाद्यनादश्रवणदीपदर्शनादिकै-र्जातप्रभावाः स्तूपसहिताः पादुकाः कारिताः पं. (परिख) मेघेन भार्यालाडकीप्रमुखकुटुम्बयुतेन, प्रतिष्ठिताश्च तपागच्छाधिराजैः भट्टारकश्रीविजयसेनसूरिभिः ३. श्री विमलहर्षगणि ३. श्रीकल्याणविजयगणि ३. श्री सोमविजयगणिभिः प्रणताः भव्यजनैः पूज्यमानाश्चिरं न नंदतु (नंदन्तु) । लिखिता प्रशस्तिः पद्मानन्दगणिना श्री उन्नतनगरे शुभं भवतु ॥

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MĀNAMANORAÑJANA : A RARE WORK ON SAṄGĪTA

SHWETA S. KALUSKAR*

The present work MĀNAMANORAÑJANA is found in a manuscript preserved in the Oriental Institute of Baroda. It deals with *Saṅgītaśāstra* (Indian Music). The author of this text is Mayāśaṅkara. The language of this text is Sanskrit and the script is *Nāgarī.* It is written in *Śaka* 1713 (1791 A.D.).The Manuscript contains twenty folios.

The author *Mayāśaṅkara* Śāstrī was patronised by the then ruler of Baroda, Manajirao Gaekwad (ruling period 1789-1793 A.D.) The latter was not only a great, brave and powerful ruler of the state but was also a great connoisseur of different arts including the performing arts like Indian music as is evinced by the author who says:

मानाजिरावराजेन्द्राश्रयसंलब्धजीवनः ।

The work *Mānamanorañjanaṁ* is unique in the sense that it is a short manual of Indian Music describing the major Indian melodies *(Rāgas)* along with their special features. This work proves that even during the eighteenth century there were scholars interested in depicting prominent aspects of Indian Music as it is done by Mayāśaṅkara Śāstrī in this text.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR: MAYĀŚAṄKARA ŚĀSTRĪ.

The author of this text, Mayāśaṅkara was a resident of Baroda, according to the verse which we find in his work *Mānamanorañjanam:*

मानाजिरावराजेन्द्राश्रयसंलब्धजीवनः ।
मयाशंकरविप्रोऽयं श्रीगौडज्ञातिनूतनः ॥२॥

He was a Gauḍa Gujarātī Brāhmin patronised by Shri Manajirao Gaekwad of the Gaekwad family, the former rulers of Baroda. We do not find any other information about the author either from this work of from anywhere else.

He is fully devoted to his master, King Manajirao, as we see in his description about the King (Śl.-25-51). He discusses in this work the lineage of Gaekwad family and talks in detail about his patron king Manajirao Gaekwad. He compares the king with various aspects of nature (Śl. 36, 38, 40 etc.) making him quite a divine entity.

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The exact date of the author is not known but it can be very well judged from the date of this Manuscript given in the colophon of this work that he must have flourished in the middle of the eighteenth century A.D. This work was composed in *Śaka* 1713 i.e. 1791 A.D.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

This work *Mānamanorañjana* written by Mayāśaṅkara is unpublished so far:

MANUSCRIPT	:	Accession number -4549, Oriental Institute, The M.S. University of Baroda, Vadodara
MATERIAL	:	Paper
EXTENT	:	20 folios . (complete)
SIZE	:	28.9 x 13.6 cms.
LANGUAGE	:	Sanskrit.
SCRIPT	:	*Devanāgarī*
SUBJECT	:	*Saṅgītaśāstra* (Indian music).
NUMBER OF LINES ON EACH SIDE OF THE FOLIO	:	6-8 lines on each side of the folio.
NUMBER OF LETTERS IN EACH LINE	:	25-31 letters in each line.
GRANTHAS	:	121 (only verses).
DATE OF COMPOSITION		*Śaka* 1713 (1791 A.D.).
CONDITION	:	Good.
RAMARKS	:	(a) The Manuscript begins on folio 1-a and ends on folio 20-a.

(b) It begins with श्रीगणेशायनमः, श्रीसरस्वत्यैनमः and ends with इति श्री मयाशंकरविरचितो मानमनोरंजनग्रंथः समाप्त :। शुभं भवतु ।

(c) The Manuscript bears the numerical figures on the b-page on the top left margin and right bottom margin.

(d) There are very few marginal notes[1] and no scribal errors.

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1. For e.g. (i) on page 4-b the note i.e. word भोगिनीभिः is given for the word नागिनीभिः in the verse 19. (ii) the word मौक्तिसुशौ is given for मौक्तिकसृग ...on page 13 a in verse number 80.

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(e) The Manuscript in totality has 121 verses except for the different titles given to the various topics therein which are in prose.

(f) There are vertical bars to show the completion of the verse.

(g) The number six in the numbering of the verses is many times written in Gujarati script and not in Sanskrit. For e.g. १६ instead of १६ .

(h) The author has skipped numbers 82 and 96 while numbering the verses. So though the number of the last verse is 121, there are total 119 verses in this Manuscript.

ORTHOGRAPHICAL PECULIARITIES

(a) The letter like प, य, ष्ट, भ्र, शु, श्रु, श्री, and झी are peculiarly written.

(b) The sign of '*avagraha*' is not used in a number of places in the Manuscript. For e.g.

(i) संरमतेनुधर्म for संरमतेऽनुधर्म (ii) तनुतेति for तनुतेऽति

THE SCRIBAL ERRORS

(a) Some letters and words are wrongly spelt and written. e.g.

(i) भूतळे instead of भूतले (ii) भ्रहत् instead of बृहत्

(iii) फत्रेसिंह instead of फतेसिंह (iv) पुर्णता instead of पूर्णता

(v) सहस्त instead of सहस्र (vi) इछति instead of इच्छति

(vi) प्रवर्त्रको instead of प्रवर्तको (vii) चतस्त instead of चतस्र

(ix) शिहाजी instead of सयाजी

b) Sometimes *avagraha* is not done

(i) हीमेर्धदिवसे instead of हीमेऽर्धदिवसे (ii) मुखतोहिभोक्तु instead of मुखतोऽहिभोक्तु

c) The scribe uses doubled consonants.

(i) प्रकीर्त्तिता instead of प्रकीर्तिता (ii) स्मरार्त्ते instead of स्मरार्ते

(iii) एकानर्य्या instead of एकानर्या (iv) निर्द्धूत instead of निर्धूत

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CONTENTS OF THE TEXT (Ms.) MĀNAMANORAÑJANA

The author Mayāśaṅkara begins his work with the auspicious i.e. *Maṅgala* verse glorifying Lord Śiva. He then describes in brief the Gaekwad family, the former rulers of Baroda state and in particular about his patron king Manajirao Gaekwad who ruled over this province for about a period of approximate 4 years i.e. 1789 A.D. to 1793 A.D. He speaks about the fame, charity and brave life of the king Manajirao Gaekwad.

To please the king, he further gives some information about Music like the evolution of seven notes and their places of pronunciation. He also talks about the six *Rāgas* (melodies) viz. Bhairava, Mālakośa, Hiṇḍola, Dīpaka, Śrī and Megha and also about their origin. Then he discusses about their singing time. Further the scholarship of the author is seen when he writes about ten faults in Music which should be avoided by a good singer. Then he makes a wish that may these six melodies please the king Manajirao.

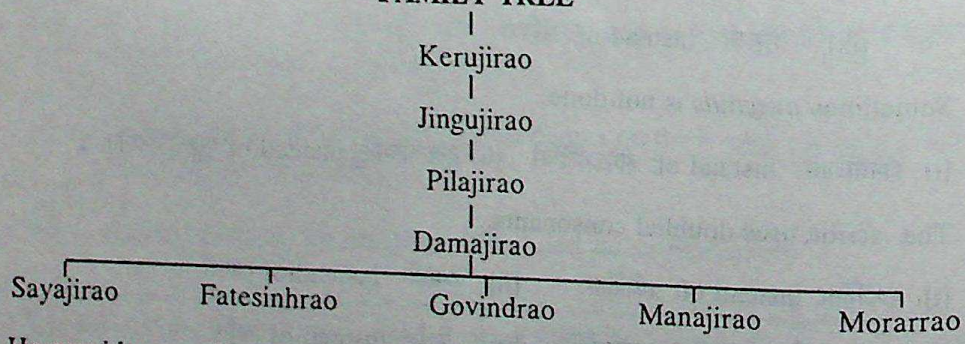
Later on, he also discusses in details the five *Rāgiṇīs* of each of these six *Rāgas* and gives the description of their nature and form, where he stands unique among such scholars who have personified *Rāgas* and *Rāgiṇīs*. Then he discusses about the *Śrutis* of each *svara* and names them.

Finally, he accepts the traditional style in giving the date of this text as शिवाक्षीदुवाजींदुशाके च चैत्रे सितायां चतुर्थ्यां and also for the number of verses written by him in this work as: उडुराजलोचनसमन्वितं शतं रचितं = 121 and further he says रचितं चतुश्चरणजातीनां मुदा i.e. for pleasure, the verses having four *pādas* are composed.

GAEKWAD FAMILY

The author Mayāśaṅkara also discusses the lineage of the Gaekwad family in short.

FAMILY TREE



He provides us with the information about the skill and bravery of warriors from the Gaekwad family in the battlefield, who are sovereign and very majestic. He mentions that

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their supremacy is due to the merits of Kerujirao Gaekwad, the forefather of king Manajirao Gaekwad. Jingujirao , the son of Kerujirao was appointed to protect the army during the battle. His son's name was Pilajirao. Damajirao, the son of Pilajirao was as majestic as Lord Rāma (Śl. 7).He was an excellent gem among the brave kings. He was feared by the enemies. As it is seen in the above Family tree, he had five sons: Shri Shihaji (Sayajirao), Fatehsinhrao, Govindrao, Manajirao and Morarrao. All these five sons are described as inscrutable like the oceans, difficult to win over like the eight elephants guarding the eight cardinal directions and difficult to go beyond like the mountains (Śl. 9,10)

Then Mayāśaṅkara describes in brief the four brothers of Manajirao.

SAYAJIRAO (SHIHAJIRAO): He is described as valourous king, who with his stick raised high up in the battlefield, defeats his enemies badly (Śl. 11).

FATEHSINHRAO : His personality holding a curved sword, and voice as though roaring from five mouths, alarmed the enemies and rushed them to flee away from the battlefield. He was a gem of profundity of meaning and character. He was so much famous that the author gives the following Vyatirekālaṅkāra:

फतेसिंहयशोवीची-नीचीकृत- सुधाकर :।

मालिन्यमानने बिभ्रत्कानने खे भ्रमत्यसौ ॥ १३॥

i.e. Fatehsinh's light of fame even brought down the moon, as the moon fearing from the dirtiness on his face roams about in the forest and sky .

GOVINDRAO : This son of Damajirao is portrayed by the author as one behaving according to his own will. He was stout and was fond of giving gifts and alms (Śl. 14)

MORARRAO (MURARRAO) : He is compared to the sun who sucked the whole ocean by his power, i.e. a powerful personality who can even sway violent cyclonic winds (SL 15).

Thus, giving in short about the four brothers of Manajirao, the author further proceeds to give in details the information of his most loved patron, king Manajirao Gaekwad.

PATRON OF THE AUTHOR MAYĀŚAṄKARA: KING MANAJIRAO GAEKWAD.

The author describes Manajirao, as a great king, who proved his name by making the enemies bow down their heads in front of him, for the protection of their lives. He further says that Manaji scares the enemies even in their dreams (Śl. 18) . He like the rising sun, has made many heads of elephants fall from their bodies by his valour. He bears extreme heat on his body without an umbrella, but he gives shadow to others just like an umbrella:

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अनातपत्रे तनुतेऽतितापं छायां तनोत्येव समातपत्रे । २२ ab

Mayāśaṅkara then says that king Manajirao is like the prominent personality of Rāma in speaking truth. He is Narendra (best among men) and Nāgakularāṭ (pre-eminent person from a noble family) (Śl. 27) Mayāśaṅkara describes Manajirao in the battlefield as: Manarao with a sword in his hand dishonoured the wives of enemies by cutting their husbands' heads' (Śl. 28).

In his honour, the author gives a beautiful example of *Vyatirekālaṁkāra* saying:

अग्रीकृतोऽर्कोद्यद्यर्थं भीतः छायावलम्बन :।

दिग्जिष्णोर्मानसिंहस्य प्रतापेणार्धचन्द्रित : ॥३०॥

i.e. the foremost source of light viz. the Sun, sought shelter in the shadow out of fear and moon has turned half digited due to the radiance of the king Manasinh.

Mayāśaṅkara now gives information about the fame of his patron (Śl. 31).

King Manajirao shines due to his extremely good fame. He astonishes all the people by his sovereignty. His arms are like the Malaya mountain and fragrance like the sandalwood. He fights with his enemies with his soul, mind and body, due to which he earned good fame not only on the earth but also in the sky i.e. heavenly regions. (Śl. 32).

By his fame he becomes *'ajeya'* impossible to win over like the moon. (Śl. 36 a, b) Due to his heroism, enemies are quiet and have run away. (Śl. 40 a,b).

Then Mayāśaṅkara glorifies the act of giving gifts, of king Manajirao.(Śl. 43) . He says Manaji stays in abode full of auspicious things . He is the king of the kings *(rājendra)* and he shines exuberantly like the victorious sun (Śl. 44) He is generous in giving alms and gifts, including even gold and flesh. (Śl. 46)

Further he describes the handsomeness of the king Manajirao(Śl. 49, 51) .The king's family is described as the best among ruling classes due to good fame, as well as the fruit of their penance. Then he starts with the description of Indian music and says that the given melodies are sung to please the king Manajirao.

When we look at the political history of the king Manajirao, we find that he was a regent who ruled over the State of Baroda during 1789 to 1793 A.D. His rule started after the death of Fatesinhrao and Sayajirao, after giving the *Nazar* (donation) of Rs. 33,13,000 to Poona Government and promising to pay an amount of 36 lakhs, which were Fatehisnh's arrears. Manaji died on first of August 1793 A.D.[2]

2. Vide, *Gazetter of the Baroda State* Volume 1. 481

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INDIAN MUSIC: DISTINCT POINTS

The author Mayāśaṅkara starts with the description of Indian Music *(Uttara-Hindustānī* style) from the 52nd verse in the text. He begins as:

अथ सुरमणीयुक्तरागरमणवर्णनप्रारंभः ।

He gives the names of the seven notes (*Swaras)* of the Hindustānī style of Indian Music as: *Ṣaḍja, Ṛṣabha, Gāndhāra, Madhya, Pañcama, Dhaivata* and *Niṣāda.*

He then gives the names of three *Saptakas* as: *Mandra, Madhya* and *Sutāra* (widely known as *Tāra*).

The author differs from other scholars in terming the fourth note as *Madhya* instead of *Madhyama*, which is popular.

Now Mayāśaṅkara tells about the origin of these seven notes (ascribing their origin to sound of different animals and other sounds[3]:

Ṣaḍja	has originated from	Peacock.
Ṛṣabha	,, ,,	*Cātaka.*
Gāndhāra	,, ,,	Goat
Madhyama	,, ,,	Sound produced, when the tip of the thumb and middlefinger are brought in contact with each other so as to pinch.
Pañcama	,, ,,	Cuckoo
Dhaivata	,, ,,	Horse
Niṣāda	,, ,,	thundering of clouds.

Mayāśaṅkara stands unique in his concept of the origination of *Madhyama* note and *Niṣāḍa* note, as we see the very famous view about the same, of Pt. Dāmodara given in his text *Saṅgītadarpaṇa* (1625 A.D.). He says:

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3. Śārangadeva, the author of *Saṁgītaratnākara* (13th century) refers to it in the first Chapter I-3. 46,47. He ascribes the origin of the seven notes to the following seven animals serially-Peacock , Cātaka,Ram, Krauñca. Cuckoo, frog and elephant.

मयूरचातकच्छागक्रौञ्चकोकिलदर्दुराः ।
गजश्च सप्त षड्जादीन्क्रमादुच्चारयन्त्यमी ॥ I. 3. 46 cd, 47 ab

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"*Sā (Ṣaḍja)* has originated from Peacock, *Re (Ṛṣabha)* from *Cātaka, Ga (Gāndhāra)* from He- goat, Ma *(Madhyama)* from Crow, *Pa (Pañcama)* from Cuckoo, *Dha (Dhaivata)* from Frog and *Ni (Niṣāda)* from an elephant."

Mayāśaṅkara then tells about the origin of the six basic melodies of the *Rāga-Rāgiṇī* system accepted by him viz. *Bhairava, Mālakośa, Hiṇḍola, Dīpaka, Śrī* and *Megha.* He says *Bhairava* is produced from the body of Śīva and *Mālakośa (Mālakauṁsa)* is produced from the spotted neck of Śiva. The gem among the melodies, *Rāga Hiṇḍola* is produced by Lord Bhahmā and *Dīpaka* is produced from the third eye of God Śiva, which has the lustre of a thousand suns. *Śrī Rāga* originates from the nose of a serpant and Megha Rāga shines in the sky as well as in the nature.

सुभैरवः शंभुशरीरसंभवः समालकोशो हरकम्बुकण्ठजः ।
कजस्तु हिंडोलकरागसन्मणिः सहस्रभान्वम्बकजो हिदीपकः ॥५८॥
श्रीरागराजोऽहिपनासिकाजो वियत्तनुर्भाति हि मेघरागः ।
अमी महारागवरा धरायां सुखाय संगीतवतां भवन्ति ॥५९॥

As is seen in the above verse, he says that the production of these *Rāgas* on the earth is for the pleasure of the music loving audience.

TIME OF RĀGAS (ṚTU-BHEDAḤ)

The author suggests the right time for each *Rāga* to be sung. He says, *Bhairava* should be sung in the first quarter of the day in the autumnal season *(śarad ṛtu). Rāga Mālakośa* should be sung in the last quarter in the cold season *(śiśira ṛtu). Rāga Hiṇḍola* and Rāga Dīpaka should be sung in the second quarter of the day. In the fourth quarter in the snowy season *(Tuṣāra ṛtu)* should be sung *Śrī Rāga* and *Megha* can be sung any time in the rainy season.

The author then discusses about the ten *doṣas* (faults) which an artist may be committing while presentation. He quotes:

हीनतानबहुतालकाकवाग् नादभङ्गमुखकण्ठकम्पनम् ।
अगदोलनमभेदगायनं चार्धवागसमयाज्ञतेति दिक् ॥६२॥
संगीतशास्त्रजा दोषा वर्णिता नितराममी ।
गीतमेतानतित्यज्य वदन्ति कोविदा जनाः ॥६३॥

Inferior quality of Tānas, very much conscious about Tāla, crow -voiced, cracking of voice, instability of mouth and neck, over stable, unstable, monotonous singing, no time management, looking in one direction only, these are the ten faults which an artist should avoid while presenting his item.

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We find the discussion of the demerits of a singer in many books related to music, e.g. these are the demerits of a singer given in the Saṅgītaratnākara of Śaraṅgadeva (1210-1247 A.D)

संदष्टोद्धृष्टसूत्कारिभीतशंकितकंपिता : । ३.१.२५
कराली विकलः काकी वितालकरभोद्भडा : ।।
झोम्बकस्तुम्बकी वक्री प्रसारी विनिमीलकः ।
विरसापस्वराव्यक्तस्थानभ्रष्टाव्यवस्थिता : ।। ३.१.२६
मिश्रकोऽनवधानश्च तथाऽन्यः सानुनासिकः ।
पंचविंशतिरित्येते गायना निंदिता मता ।। ३.१.२७
(संगीतरत्नाकर) ।।।.

In another book named "*Saṅgīta Vidyāsagara*" in Gujarati by Dr. Bhimlal K. Mehta, (1933 A.D.) the author discusses about the ten faults which should be avoided by singers. They are: 1) *Kampita* 2) *Bhīta* 3) *Uddhruṣṭa* 4) *Kapālī* 5) Viswara 6) Vyākula 7) Avyakta 8) *Anunāsika* 9) *Sthānavarjita* and 10) *Virasa.*

Mayāśaṅkara then proceeds to explain the nature of six basic *Rāga*s (melodies).

He says that *Bhairava* is a balanced melody whose sound is like that of crushing a *Devadāru* tree. *Mālakośa* is thought of by the wise as melody which bursts as a sudden fire. *Rāga Hiṇḍola* makes a person swing like a swing, lights are lighted by *Dīpaka Rāga. Rāga Śrī* makes a person wet like the liquid ozzing out from the tree and Melody Megha comes like a great shower of rain. As he says:

हिन्दोलके दोलति दोलकोऽस्मिन् ऋते तु दीपाः किल दीपकेषु ।
श्रीरागकेनार्द्रतरू रसार्द्रोर्ही मेघे महावृष्टिसमाकुलाभूः ।।६५।।

In the medieval period, there was a lineage of male *Rāgas* and female *Rāgiṇīs* followed by the people . On the basis of this thought Rāga-Rāgiṇī system evolved. There was no unanimity between the scholars and so four opinions were formed. According to the first two opinious there are basic six *Rāgas* and six *Rāgiṇīs* of each of these *Rāgas.* According to the last two opinions there are six basic *Rāgas* each having five *Rāgiṇīs.* Eight sons of each *Rāga* were believed unanimously by scholars.

1) Śiva or Someśwaramata 2) Kṛṣṇa or Kallināthamata

According to them there are six *Rāgas* and each having six *Rāgiṇīs* i.e. in all 36 *Rāgiṇīs.*

3) Bharatamata and 4) Hanumānamata

According to them there are six *Rāgas* each having five *Rāgiṇīs* i.e. in all 30 *Rāgiṇīs.*

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Our author Mayāśaṅkara follows the Hanumānamata out of the above four opinions, as far as the classification of the *Rāgiṇīs* of each *Rāga* is concerned.[4] Though the number of *in both Hanumāna and Bharatamata is same, the Rāgiṇīs* differ from each other.

According to our author, the six basic *Rāgas* and their respective five *Rāgiṇīs* are as follows:

Sr. No.	*Rāga*(melody) (basic)	Five *Rāgiṇīs* of each *Rāga* (melody)
1.	Bhairava	1) Bhairavī 2) Vairādī 3) Madhu- mādhavī 4) Saindhava 5) Bangālī.
2.	Mālakośa	1) Toḍī 2) Gauḍī 3) Guṇakalī 4) Khambāvatī and 5) Kakuba.
3.	Hiṇḍola	1) Rāmakalī 2) Dośākhī 3) Lalita 4) Bijāwarī and 5) Paṭamañjarī.
4.	Dīpaka	1) Deśi 2) Kaumodinī 3) Nāṭi 4) Kedārī and 5) Kanaḍī.
5.	Śrī	1) Mālasarī 2) Māru 3) Dhanyaśrī 4) Vasanta and 5) Āsāvarī
6.	Megha	1) Taṅkārī 2) Malhārī 3) Gurjharī 4) Bhūpālī and 5) Deśakārī.

The author does not go in detail of *Putra-rāgas* and *Putravadhū -rāgiṇīs* of the above *Rāgas.*

Now our author Mayāśaṅkara proceeds to discuss about each *Rāgiṇī* along with its basic *Rāgas.* He then describes *Bhairava* as:

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4) a) Our author seems to follow the order of sequence of the above *Rāgiṇīs* of each *Rāga* according to the text *Rāgamālā* of Pt. Jīvarāja. (date not known) Pt. Jīvarāja also gives the singing time of each melody.

b) Pt. Dāmodara also gives the same classfication of the *Rāgas* and the *Rāgiṇīs* in his *Saṅgitadarpaṇa* (1625 A.D.) but the pronunciation of the *Rāgiṇīs* is some what different and the second basic *Rāga* is Kauśika instead of Mālakośa-*Rāgiṇīs* being the same .

c) Hanumānamata as given in the book *'Saṅgīta Viśārada'* of Vasant.

d) Hanumānamata as given in the book *'Rāgaparicaya'* of Harishchandra Srivastava.

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With the garland of lotus flowers, his eyes offering emancipation, and his large forehead clasped by snakes, the melody Bhairava shines in the palace of Manajirao with the notes Dha-Ni-Sā-Ga-Ma and Re when sung in the monings of the Śaradṛtu. (Śl. 68)

The five wives of melody Bhairava given by our author are also depicted in the above manner. The descriptive verses are elaborate and it not only gives visualisation of each melody but also its note structure and an indication of its appropriate hour and season of singing.

भैरवीरागरत्नस्य वैराडी मधुमाधवी
सैन्धवी पञ्चबङ्गाली भैरवस्याङ्गना मता ॥६९॥

These are the five wives of *Rāga Bhairava.*

1) **Bhairavī Rāgiṇī** : Bhairavī is extremely pleasing with big eyes and stretched hair and white garments. Her *Madhyama* note sounds excellent. She is a damsel from the family of *septa-tonic* melodies, with the succession of notes as *Ma-Pa-Dha-Ni-Sā-Re-Ga.* With the garland of *campā* flowers in the neck, she is seen as a woman with white complexion and reddened breasts in the house (palace) of the king Manajirao (Śl. 70)

2) **Vairāḍī Rāgiṇī:** She is the second *Rāgiṇī* of *Bhairava* with wavy hair, firm breasts and a golden bracelet on her wrists .The damsel shines as a full toned melody, the string of notes being *Sā-Re-Ga-Ma-Pa-Dha-Ni.* Her home is in the note Sā.She should be sung at the end of the day in the *Śarad* season to please king Manajirao. (Śl. 71)

3) **Madhu-Mādhavī Rāgiṇī:** With shining lips and eyes, she laughs keeping her hand round her lord's neck. Sung in the morning of the *Śarad ṛtu* with the notes *Ma-Pa-Dha - Re-Sā -Ni* and *Ga* (septatonic melody), Manajirao hears her with utmost peace (Śl. 72)

4) **Saindhavī Rāgiṇī:** Wearing flowers as ear-rings in her ears, having assumed the russet clothes, with pearl necklace of one string in her hand (rosary) , abandoning the fragrance of scented wood, *Saindhavī* is *septa* tonic (seven notes) melody having its abode in the note Sā, the succession of notes being Sā-Re-Pa-Dha-Ga-Ma-Ni, and sung in the autumn, heard by king Manaji. (Śl. 73).

5) **Baṅgālī Rāgiṇī:** Having a trident in her hand and shining due to the *tilaka,* charming due to saffron clothing, Baṅgālī is heard by Manajirao, who loves justice, with the notes *Sā-Re-Ga-Ma-Pa-Dha-Ni* in succession, being a *Septatonic* melody (melody with seven notes). (Śl. 74)

Mayāśaṅkara now picks up the second melody i.e. *Rāga Mālakośa* from the six basic melodies. He describes *Mālakośa* as:

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Holding a stick in his hand to give pleasure, he wears a string of pearls on his shoulders, very cleverly he gives proper judgement to the notes *Sā-Re-Ga-Ma-Pa-Dha-Ni*. This *Rāga* is heard by the king Manajirao at the end of *Hemanta Ṛtu*.[5] (Śl. 75)

The five wives of Mālakośa are:

टोडी गौडी गुणकली खम्भावत्यथ सा ककुप् ।

मालकोशाङ्गनाः पञ्चसंख्यावद्भिरुदाहताः ॥७६॥

1) **Ṭoḍi-Rāgiṇī:** Happy, sounding like an ocean, gentle, curved eyes, besemeared and white clothed, this *Rāgiṇī* is liked by the king in the *Śiśira Ṛtu* with the notes *Sā-Re-Ga-Ma Dha-Ni* in succession. (Śl. 77)

2) **Gauḍī-Rāgiṇī:** The fair damsel having the voice like that of a cuckoo, white robed and sounding sweet with the notes *Sā-Re-Ga-Ma-Dha-Ni* in the *Śiśira* season, king Manaji likes to hear it in the last quarter of the night. (Śl. 78)

3) **Guṇakalī Rāgiṇī:** Distressed as well as suffering due to the separation from the lover and with imperfect breathing, this *Rāgiṇī Guṇakalī* is heard by Manajirao in the Śiśira Ṛtu (Śl.79).

4) **Khambhāvatī Rāgiṇi:** Extremely passionate, having pearl necklace round her neck and cuckoo voiced, the damsel becomes angry when the desired one is being taken away from her. She produces a feeling of happiness to Manajirao when listened to her in the *Śiśira Ṛtu*. (Sl. 80)

5) **Kakuba Rāgiṇī:** This damsel, fond of sports, tired and with expanded breasts, clothes being torn, hair disturbed and garland of bees encirling her, is lotus-eyed. Her home is in the note *Dha* and with other notes *Dha-Ni-Sā-Re-Ga-Ma* in succession, she is heard by the king Manaji at the night time in the *Śiśira* Ṛtu.

Thus , this is the Rāga Mālakośa with his five wives.

The author Mayāśaṅkara then describes *Rāga Hiṇḍola*, the third *Rāga* out of the six melodies given by him.

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5. Such type of description of the Rāgas and Rāgiṇīs is also found in the following texts:

1) *Rāgavibodha* of Somanātha-1610 A.D. (2) *Saṅgītādarpaṇa* of Dāmodara-1625 A.D. (3) *Saṅgīta Dāmodara* of Śubhaṅkara-17th century (4) *Rasa -Kaumudi* of Śrīkaṇṭha-18th Century (5) *Rāga-mālā* of Puṇḍarīka-Viṭṭhala-18th century (6) *Rāgamālā of* Pt. Jīvarāja Dīkṣita- (Date not known)

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Rāga Hiṇḍola is robed in yellow like the lustre of Brahmā. He is seated at the centre of the golden swing with crown. The ladies please him by swinging him. He is a penta-tonic melody made of the notes *Sā-Ga Ma Pa Ni.* It makes the king swing with pleasure when sung in the morning time.[6] (Śl. 83)

Now the description of the five wives of *Hiṇḍola* is given:

रामकल्यथ दोशाखी ललिता च बिजावरी ।

पटमञ्जर्यनुज्ञाताः पञ्च हिन्दोलवल्लभाः ॥८४॥

1) **Rāmakalī Rāgiṇī:** Golden bodies and yellow robed, this *Rāgiṇī* has the lustre like that of the Sun. Her body is fragrant with the fragrance of the musk of deer. This pentatonic melody pleases king Manajirao at the end of night with the notes *Sā Ga Ma Pa Ni* in succession. (Śl. 85)

2) **Doṡākhī Rāgiṇī** :Wicked appearance, very brave and angry-faced, this pentatonic melody has her abode in the note *Ga.* She gives pleasure to the king Manajirao at dawn with the notes *Sā Ga Ma Pa Ni,* in succession. (Śl. 86)

3) **Lalitā Rāgiṇī :** This fair damsel with the garland of flowers on the white body recites the notes like fire. This pentatonic melody pleases king Manaji with the notes *Sā Dha Ni Sā Ga Ma,* her abode being in the note Dhaivata (Dha). (Śl. 87)

4) **Bijāvari Rāgiṇī:** This dear damsel, stable at the doors of the heart, making the mind fickle in all the directions, nicely ornamented and her lustre being like that of a lotus, is red garmented. She makes the King Manaji shine with the notes Sa Dha Re Ga Ma Pa and her abode being in notes Ga and Dha. She is hexatonic melody (melody with six notes.) (Śl. 88)

5) **Paṭamañjarī Rāgiṇī:** Desirous of union with the lover but frightened due to the possibility of separation from life, she is wearing a garland of wet flowers in her neck. She is a sweet septatonic melody with the notes Pa Dha Ni Sā Re Ga Ma. (Śl. 89)

This is the description of the five wives of *Hiṇḍola.* Now the author gives the nature of *Rāga Dīpaka,* the fourth *Rāga* out of the six basic melodies given by him.

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6. The following description of *Rāga Hiṇḍola* is found in *'Saṁgītadāmodara'* of Śubhaṅkara (17th Century A.D.) and also in *'Saṅgīta Darpaṇa'* of Pt. Dāmodara (20th century)-

नितम्बिनीमन्दतरङ्गितासु, दोलासु खेलासुखमादधानः।

खर्वः कपोतद्युतिकर्पूरश्रीः 'हिन्दोलरागः' कथितो मुनीन्द्रैः ॥५८॥

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Dīpaka Rāga: Mounted on an elephant, scarlet robed, with complexion like that of a pomegranate and with the necklace of pearls around his neck, *Rāga Dīpaka* is best born from the eyes of the Sun. Having *Sā* as his prominent note, he gives pleasure to the king Manajirao with the notes *Sā Re Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni.* This septatonic melody is sung at the end of *Vasanta* (Spring) season.(Śl. 90)

Then he discusses the nature of the five wives of *Dīpaka Rāga* given by him.

1) **Deśī Rāgiṇi:** Dressed in green, full of youth, she is a damsel full of desire for dalliance. With the notes *Re Sā Ma Pa Dha* may *Rāgiṇī Desī* bring peace to king Manaji. She is a pentatonic melody, i.e. a melody with five notes. (Śl. 92)

2) **Kaumodinī Rāgiṇī:** This golden bodied, shining, residing in the forest and scarlet robed damsel may bring purity to Manaji with her notes *Dha Sā Re Ga Ma Pa Ni* and let destruction fall on me. She is a septatonic melody with her abode in the note *Dhaivata (Dha).* (ŚL. 93)

3) **Naṭī Rāgiṅī :** As desired, she is skilled in qualities. She is a lovely maiden with golden clothes and decked with ornaments, who is peaceful and charming. She is an actress with the notes *Sā Ni Dha Pa Ma Ga Re* in succession. This septatonic melody is heard by Manaji in pauses (Sl. 94)

4) **Kedārī Rāgiṇī :** With moon on her forehead and body of flames, she looks extremely radiant due to the incomparable penances of this ascetic lady. She pleases king Manaji with the notes Ni Sā Ma Pa Dha Ga when sung at the night time in summer season. She is a hexatonic melody. (Śl. 95)

5) **Kānaḍī Rāgiṇī :** With dominant left hand, teeth like that of an elephant and white robed, whole body besmeared with sandalwood in the summer season, this Rāgiṇī is septatonic. It pleases the king with the notes *Re Sā Ga Ma Pa Dha and Ni* (Śl. 97)

The author then proceeds to describe the fifth melody Śrī among the six basic melodies given by him.

Śrī Rāga: This septatonic melody is nectar mouthed with the garland of crystal in his neck. He is bright clothed and has lustrous beauty born of water with *Vīṇā* instrument in his hands and moving speedily. It gives pleasure to the ears of King Manaji with the notes *Sā Re Ga* Ma Pa Dha Ni in succession. (Śl. 98)

Now the nature of the wives of *Rāga Śrī* is discussed.

मालसर्यपरा मारुर्धन्या श्रीर्वसुधातले ।
वसन्ताशावरीयुग्मं पञ्चश्रीरागयोषितः ॥९९॥

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1) **Mālasarī Rāgiṇī:** Residing on a tree in the sky, bright clothed, protecting her yellow breasts, desirous of dalliance, this septatonic melody pleases king Manajirao with the notes *Sā Re Ga Ma Pa Dha* and *Ni* in succession.(Śl. 100)

2) **Māru Rāgiṇī :** With garland in the neck, full of youth, interested in love, kissed by the happy bee, *Māru* melody pleases the king Manaji with the notes *Sā Ni Sā Ga Ma Pa Dha.* She is a happy hexatonic melody sung in the Śarad season. (Śl. 101)

3) **Dhanyāśrī Rāgiṇī :** Distressed body, imperfect exhalation in the body as though intoxicated, ruddy breasts, scarlet robed and agitated is this damsel. May she with her supreme wealth and interest please king Manaji with the notes *Sā Pa Dha Ni Ga Ma.* She is a hexatonic melody. (Śl. 102)

4) **Vasanta Rāgiṇī :** She is young girl full of youth and love, white bodied, drinker of *soma* rasa. This damsel appears lovely especially in Vasanta Ṛtu. She is a septatonic melody who pleases the king Manaji with the notes Sā Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni in succession. (Śl. 103)

5) **Āsāvarī Rāgiṇī:** Bright clothed, shining, sandal bodied, cool like the water, hard to embrace and giving angry looks, this damsel is sung in the cold icy *(Tuṣāra Ṛtu)* season. May this hexatonic melody give much pleasure to Manaji with the notes *Dha Ni Sā Ma Pa Ga.* (Śl. 104)

The author then proceeds further to describe the nature of the last i.e. sixth *Rāga-Rāga Megha.*

Brave, holding gold in his flat hands, white mouthed, with crown on the head and charming, this *Rāga Megha* has its abode in the Dhaivata *(Dha).* This hexatonic melody is heard by the king Manaji with the notes *Dha Ni Sā Re Ga Ma.* (Śl. 105)

The five wives of Rāga Megha are:

टङ्कारी ह्यथ मल्हारी गुर्जरी समुदाहृता ।

भूपाली देशकारीति मेघरागमनोरमाः ॥१०६॥

1) **Ṭaṅkārī Rāgiṇī:** Desirous of union with the beloved, muddy due to the kindled fire as though the bed is on fire, skilled in attracting towards her, with happiness this septatonic *Taṅkārī* melody enters the palace of king Manaji with the notes *Sā Re Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni* in succession, in the night. (Śl. 107)

2) **Malhārī Rāgiṇī:** This fair, delicate damsel full of youth , decked with ornaments, distressed due to separation, having Vīṇā in her hand and voice like that of a cuckoo, is impatient and her king has a rosary of beads in hand. This hexatonic *Malhārī* is heard at

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midnight with the notes *Dha Ni Re Ga Ma* by the king Manaji.

सिता तन्वी कन्दा विरहतनुरुद्यौवनभरा
धृतालङ्कारान्तवृजितकरवीणा पिकरवा ।
अधैर्या स्वक्षीतेशजकरवमालौण्डखव्वहा
निशीथे मल्हारी धनिरिगम मानाजिनृपतिम् ॥१०८॥

3) **Gurjarī Rāgiṇi :** Decked with golden ornaments, crying like that of a cuckoo, having worn coppery red silken garments and possessing extremely courageous and speedy body, having slender waist and sounding like the falling of water, this hexatonic melody comes with the notes *Sā Re Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni* in front of the king Manajirao. (Śl. 109)

4) **Bhūpālī Rāgiṇī:** With dress and ornaments suitable for amorous interviews, with a series of followers, red bodied, having garland in the neck, this damsel having good *Ṣaḍja (Sā)* is sung in the first quarter of the night with notes *Sā Ga Ma Dha Ni* in front of king Manaji. She is a Pentatonic melody. (Śl. 110)

5) **Deśakārī Rāgiṇī:** Wearing pearl necklace which is coming on the chest, sandal bodied, wearing gold and having extended eyes, desirous of dalliance and full of laughter, this septatonic Deśakārī Rāgiṇī is sung at dawn with the notes Sā Re Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni in succession, which brings good post to the king Manajirao.(Śl. 109)

The author's last sentence in describing *Deśakārī Rāgiṇī* shows his desire of making his king reach upto the top most level i.e. his achieving of a good post.

After this beautiful description of Six *Rāgas* and thirty *Rāgiṇīs*, Mayāśaṅkara proceeds further to give more information about *Śrutis* on which the notes *(svaras)* are based. He here gives the number and names of *Śrutis* possessed by each *svara*[7]:

1) 4 *Śrutis* of *Ṣaḍja* viz. *Tivrā*, *Kumudvatī*, *Mandā* and *Chhandovat.*

2) 3 *Śrutis* of Ṛṣabha viz. Ratī, Dayāvatī and *Rājānūrañjanī.*

3) 2 *Śrutis* of *Gāndhāra* viz. *Krodhinī* and *Śyāmikā.*

4) 4 *Śrutis* of *Madhyama* viz. *Vajhrī, Prasāratī, Prīti* and *Ramajjā.*

5) 4 *Śrutis* of *Pañcama* viz. *Sandīpanī, Kṣitīrikra, Lāpinī* and *Narapūṅgavā.*

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7. As given in *Saṅgītaratnākara* (I. 3. 37-39) of Śāraṅgadeva (13th century)

तीव्रा कुमद्वती मन्दा छन्दोवत्यस्तु षड्जगाः ।
दयावती रञ्जनी च रक्तिका चर्षभे स्थिताः॥३७॥ and so on.

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6) 3 *Śrutis* of *Dhaivata* viz. *Mandā. Tirohitā* and *Ramyā.*

7) 2 *Śrutis* of *Niṣāda* viz. *Ugrā* and *Śobhinikā.*

For, the verse given by the author for Śadja note is:

तीव्राकुमद्वतीमन्दाछन्दोवत्प्रकीर्तिताः ।

चतस्रः श्रुतयो ह्येता षड्जस्वरविमोददाः ॥११४॥

In the similar manner verses for other notes are also found.

रसरागसङ्करविवर्णनं मया न कृतं सुविस्तरभयादिह प्रभो ।

उडुराजलोचनसमन्वितं शतं रचितं चतुश्चरणजातीनां मुदा ॥१२०॥

The author here says to the lord that, he has not given any description about the mixture of *Rasa* and *Rāga*, out of the fear of going into much detail. He has written 121 verses of four *Caraṇas* each. He gives the number of verses in the following manner in above verse:

उडुराज = moon = 1

लोचन = Eyes = 2

शतं = Hundred = 100 = 121 verses,

(Going from bottom to top =121)

LITERARY ASPECTS OF THE PRESENT WORK

LINGUISTIC STYLE:

Looking to the language and flow maintained by the author Mayāśaṅkara, it is clear that he has followed the *Vaidarbhī* style of composition, as it is defined by Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa:*

माधुर्यव्यञ्जकैर्वर्णै रचना ललितात्मिका ॥ IX -2.

अवृत्तिरल्पवृत्तिर्वा वैदर्भी रीतिरिष्यते ॥

The chief features of this style are sweet words, graceful composition and short compounds. The very first characteristic of literary style found in *Mānamanorañjana* is the ease with which the author writes. His pen runs very fluently on this subject. Moreover

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elaborate constructions, long compounds and artificiality is totally absent in this work. Another prominent feature is the conciseness. Mayāśaṅkara has not used more words than that which are absolutely necessary.

Thus, even though the work is in verses, the language found is very simple, easy, clear and flowing.

METRES USED

Mayāśankara has used a vast variety of metres in his *Mānamanorañjana*. Metres like *Anuṣṭup*, *Upajāti*, *Indravajrā*, *Rathoddhatā*, *Vaṁśastha*, *Bhujaṅgaprayāta*, *Vasantatilakā*, *Śikhiriṇī*, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* and *Sragdharā* are found scattered throughout the work. Moreover he also uses uncommon metre in modern time viz. *Mañjubhāṣiṇī*, also known as *Sunandinī* or *Prabodhitā*.

PROMINENT SENTIMENTS IN THIS WORK

In this work we find Vīrarasa in the depiction of the lineage of Gaekwad family in general and king Manajirao in particular. Sentiments like Śṛṅgāra, Karuṇa, Śānta are also found scattered in this work.

DATE OF THE PRESENT WORK

From the colophon of this work, it is very clear that this work was written in Śaka 1713.

शिवाक्षीन्दुवाजीन्दुशाके चैत्रे सितायां चतुर्थ्यां गुरो ब्राह्मणो मे ।

परां पूर्णतामाप राजेन्द्रमानमनोरञ्जनग्रन्थरत्नं वरिष्ठम् ॥

It means, on the fourth day of the white fortnight, in the month of *Caitra Śaka* 1713 i.e. 1791 A.D., both *Guru* and Brāhmā led this work *Mānamanorañjana* of the king of the Kings, Manajirao, towards completion, which is the best and a gem of the works. Mayāśaṅkara is very traditional in giving the date of this work in coded form i.e.

Śivākṣi	=	Eyes of Lord Śiva	= 3	
Indu	=	moon	= 1	to be read in Reverse order
Vājī	=	horses of Sun's chariot	= 7	
Indu	=	moon	= 1	
			= 1713 Śaka	

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RESUME

From the contents of the text *Mānamanorañjana*, we can see that the author Mayāśaṅkara was great lover and connoisseur of Indian Music *(Uttara Hindustani* style). From his perception of each *Rāgiṇī's* form and nature, it is very clear that he was skilled in this performing art. Along with it, his devotion to his master, king Manajirao Gaekwad is also visualised from the verses in the text, where he attributes his life to the king Manajirao and he dedicates all his verses related to music i.e. Rāga and Rāgiṇīs, to Manajirao with the concept of *Rāgas* and *Rāgiṇīs* pleasing the King. His mention that may evil befall on him and good to the king in the verses shows his loyalty, faithfulness and love towards the king who patronised him.

Apart from this, the classification of *Rāgas* and Rāgiṇīs done by him also shows his awareness of the other works of music, which were there before his existence (date). Thus, we find that this work on its own is a contribution to the field of music as the author very ably visualises *Rāgas* and *Rāgiṇīs* from his own point of view and presents them nicely in the text *Mānamanorañjana.*

I would here take a chance to thank all those who helped me directly or indirectly and especially express deep sense of gratitude towards Dr. S.Y. Wakankar, the Deputy Director of the Oriental Institute, Baroda for locating and giving this Manuscript to me and to my guide, Ex- Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit, Prof. Dr. (Mrs.) Uma Deshpande who helped me in every way to lead this work towards successful completion.

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VICITRĀKHYĀNA -AN UNUSUAL WORK OF TWO SHORT POEMS

SHARMILA CHATTERJEE*

The *Vicitrākhyāna* is a compilation of two short poems by an unknown poet. The first one is '' *Vaiśyabrāhmaṇasaṁvāda''* of 17 *Ślokas* and the other one is ' *Śiṣya-guru-saṁvāda ''* of 18 *Ślokas*. Both the poems are related with lord Śiva. Both the compositions are a ' *Saṁvāda'* between two persons. The '*Saṁvāda* style ' belongs to *Nāṭaka* form where the story *(Kathāvastu)* of the play develops through dialogue *(Saṁvāda)*. The *Ṛgveda* has 10 '*'Saṁvāda-sūktas''* which are said to be the origin of *'Nāṭaka'*. In the *'Vicitrākhyāna'*, the *Saṁvāda* is used in the poetic form to create dramatic element, and as a result, infusing interest in readers to go through the compositions.

The Author

As it has been stated earlier, the *Vicitrākhyāna* is a work of some unknown poet. The poet has given the name of the state to which he belongs, about the surroundings of his village, the locality of his house, his caste, father's name,[1] but, surprisingly not his name and the time of composition .About his village and family lineage, he says that in Karṇāṭaka to the north of Kāverī river, in Kuṇigila-nagara, there is a lane *(vīthi)* called *'Brahma-vṛnda'*. There lives a *'Kāṇva-gotrī, Ṛgvedī Brāhmaṇa* named 'Karṇāṭaka-Śarmā-a staunch *Rāmabhakta,* who belongs to *'Babbūrakamma' (Jñāti),* whose son has composed this *''Kavitā''*. But the name of the son i.e. the poet is not given. One probability is that the poet's name is *'Vicitra'* whose *ākhyāna* (composition) is this work. He names the work as

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१. कर्णाटे देशवर्ये त्रिजगति विलसच्छ्रीलसद्रंगपूः स्यात्
कावेरीमध्यभागेऽप्यहिकृतशयनो रङ्गनाथः प्रसिद्ध ः।
तस्याः स्यादुत्तरे चांबुधिरिव जलकल्लोलवीचिस्तडागा-
त्पश्चाद्भागे समीपे कुणिगिलनगरे ब्रह्मवृन्दाख्यवीथ्याम् ॥१७॥
ऋग्वेदी कण्वगोत्रांबुधिभवभगवद्रामभक्तोऽत्रदानी
शर्मा कर्णाटकाख्यः सुविमलमतिमान् ज्ञातिबब्बूरकंमः।
तत्पुत्रेणेति काव्यं विरचितकवितायुक्तिभावप्रमाणं
दृष्ट्वा सुज्ञाः परज्ञाः प्रमुदितमनसः पण्डिताः शोधयन्तु ॥१८॥
Vicitrākhyāna, fol, 4a, *Śiṣyagurusaṁvāda*

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"Vicitrākhyāna" as the contents of the work are strange and unusual. We, however, do not find any information about the poet who composed the work *'Vicitrākhyāna'*.

On the cover of the original manuscript, it has been written in Hindi that it is a work of some modern poet named *'Śivaprakāśa'* of Karṇāṭaka[2] which is incorrect as *"Śivaprakāśa"* is the name of the second work (poem) included in the *Vicitrākhyāna* as *"Śiṣya-guru- saṁvāda"*.[3]

It seems that the poet was an ardent Śaivite' (his father, however, was a *Rāmabhakta)* as both of his compositions glorify the virtues of Śiva, specially the second one-'*Śiṣya guru-saṁvāda'* deals with Śiva and Rāma . The *Śiṣya*-Puṣkara Śarmā- asks him to explain *SV Śivamahimā* in *Śivaprakāśaṁ.*

The Manuscript

The Oriental Institute of Baroda has acquired a xerox-copy (Acc. No. 27722) of the original manuscript from the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain (acc. no. 6920) in the year 1999. The manuscript is complete and is in good condition . It has 4 folios with 80 *granthas* in it. The language of the composition is Sanskrit and the script is *Devanāgarī.* The size of the folios is 19.5 x 11 cms. There is no mention of the author, scribe or the year in the colophon. The handwriting of the scribe is good, clear and has little orthographical mistakes.

Contents of the work

As it has been mentioned earlier-the *Vicitrākhyāna* has two short poems in it. The first one *'Vaiśyabrāhmaṇasaṁvāda'* is a work of 17 *Ślokas* which has a story -line. It has a back-drop of the village named 'Jāvada' where a *vivāda* (conversation) goes on between one *vaiśya* named Gulajigupta and a *Gurjara-Gauḍa Brāhmaṇa* named Rādhā Kṛṣṇa Śarmā. The *vaiśya* asks a tricky question to the *Brāhmaṇa* who was an expert on the Purāṇas. In fact it is a riddle and the required answer needs to be in many folds. Though the question

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२. " इसमें जावद (म.भा.) के वैश्य गुलजीगुप्त तथा गुर्जर गौडब्राह्मण रामकृष्ण (राधाकृष्ण) का प्रश्नोत्तर विषय है। साथ ही 'शिष्यगुरुसंवाद' के रूप में "शिवप्रकाश" नामक किसी कर्णाटक (के) आधुनिक कवि की रचना है।"

३. इति कविवाग्विलासे शिष्यगुरुसंवादे विचित्राख्यानके शिवप्रकाशाख्यं समाप्तिमगमत् ।।

Colophon at the end of *Śiṣyagurusaṁvāda,* fol. 4a.

Also in the beginning, there only he says-

शिष्यः पुष्करशर्मा तेनाप्युक्तः परार्थलाभाय ।

शैवप्रकाशमाख्यं कृत्वा मां प्रबोधय स्वामिन् ।।२।।

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sounds to be a simple one that under the *Kalpavṛkṣa* there are four desire-seeking men, among them one is wicked at heart. Now the riddle question is as *"Kalpavṛkṣa"* is famous for fulfilling one's wishes and as usual the wicked hearted man would like to distroy others whereas the other three may ask prosperity for themselves or others . So whose wish will be fulfilled by *'Kalpavṛkṣa'* ? [4] While answering the question, at first the *Brāhmaṇa* gets angry when he thought about the question, then according to his deep knowledge of Purāṇas and intelligence he answers how those four men were four *kalpas* earlier, those four friends were again born. Out of the *Samudramanthana sudhā, Indu, Mandāra, Dhanvantarī* and *viṣa* came out. Śiva honoured all four of these by placing them on his person. But, *viṣa*-though being the wicked one, got the best place-Śiva's throat and so goes on the poem.

The second poem *'Śaivaprakāśam'* is *Śiṣyagurusaṁvāda.* There the *Śiṣya*, Puṣkara Śarmā asks the *Guru* (poet) to enlighten him by describing Śiva's glorious character and so the poet has given the *Śiva-carita* in 11 *Ślokas.* The remarkable feature of this poem is the relationship established between Rāma and Śiva. Rāma is Śiva's *Ārādhya* but he is the brother of his wife -Umā, thus Rāma is Śiva's *Śyālaka* (brother-in-law) (Fol 3a, *Śl.* 9)

Evaluation of the work

By the language of the *Vicitrākhyāna*, it seems that it is not a very old work. Written in simple, precise and flowing language, it seems to be a work of 18-19th century. Devoid of long *Samāsa* and pedantic demonstration of one's pseudo-intellectualism, which were the qualities of the poetry from 11th to 16th century poets, the *Vicitrākhyāna* is a very simple work. The poet has used simple short *Samāsas* and few *Alaṅkāras* very naturally. A beautiful example of *Svabhāvokti-alaṅkāra.* is worth noting in *Vaiśyabrāhmaṇasaṁvāda* (Śl. 13, fol. 2a). Though the topics of the poems are *Paurāṇika* stories, he has utilised different metres, exhibiting his mastery over prosody.

The *'Vicitrākhyāna'* may not be rated as a high quality poetic jewel in literary circle, but, its simplicity and the poet's devotion is really its strength.

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४. आस्ते कल्पद्रुमवरतले कामिनस्तत्र चत्वार-
स्तेष्वेकः कुमतिहृदयो नाशयामो वयं च ।
अन्ये सौख्यभिलषितमनास्तस्य तेषां कथं स्याद्
ब्रूहि त्वं मे स खलु वचनं वाञ्छितं यद्ददाति ॥५॥ विचित्राख्यान *fol. 1a*

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विचित्राख्यानम् (काव्यम्)

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीसरस्वत्यै नमः ॥ श्रीगुरुपरमगुरुपरमेष्ठिगुरुपरात्परगुरुभ्यो नमः॥

श्रीमद्देशिकपादपद्मयुगलं नत्वा सुसिद्धिप्रदं
स्मृत्वा सिद्धिविनायकं सुवरदं विघ्नान्धकारापहम् ।
ध्यात्वा हृत्कमले सदाशिवमयीं श्रीराजराजेश्वरीं
श्रीमत्सद्गुरुराजपादकृपया वक्तुं समर्थोऽस्म्यहम् ॥१॥

विचित्रमाख्यानकमत्र कुर्वे प्रीतिं विदां वर्धतु पण्डितानाम् ।
विड्विप्रयोर्जातविवादवृत्तिं वक्ष्यामि लक्ष्मीनृहरिप्रसादात् ॥२॥

बालानुभावा कविताकृतिश्च जाता यथा बालमुखारविन्दम् ।
ये वीक्ष्य संमोहभरा इवेदं तथैव संतोषमवाप्नुयुस्ते ॥३॥

कश्चिद्वैश्यः कुतर्कान्वित इव गुलजीगुप्त इत्येवमेकं
प्रश्नं चाकल्पयद्यद्बहुतरगहनं जावदग्राममध्ये ।
राधाकृष्णाख्यशर्मा गुणगणकलितो गुर्जरो गौडजातिः
पौराणीकस्तमास्तेऽवददिति विधिनाश्चर्यवार्तां विचित्राम् ॥४॥

आस्ते कल्पद्रुमवरतले कामिनस्तत्र चत्वा-
रस्तेष्वेकः कुमतिहृदयो नाशयामो वयं च ।
अन्ये सौख्याभिलषितमनास्तस्य तेषां कथं स्याद्
ब्रूहि त्वं मे स खलु वचनं वाञ्छितं यद्ददाति ॥५॥

इति प्रश्नस्यार्थं स मनसि विचार्य प्रकुपितः
तदा तं प्रोवाच प्रवदसि कथं धूर्त कुमते ।
भविष्ये भूते वा न भवति कदा त्वत्समनरः
पृथिव्यां सिद्धान्तः पुरुष इव कोऽप्यस्ति न तु वा ॥६॥

तयोर्वादं श्रुत्वाऽकृत इति विचारेण बहुना
विडोद्दिश्यं योज्याभिमतविचारोद्धृतमिदम् ।
गृहीत्वा प्रामाण्यं कविवरसुधादृष्टिकृपया
शिवो रामश्चोमा विजयतु तनोम्यत्र कविताम् ॥७॥

कुयुक्त्यर्थाभावं विषमिव करालानुकलितं
दुरुक्तं दुर्भाष्यं ह्यवदत स वैश्योऽद्भुतमिदम् ।
सुयुक्त्यर्थापन्नान्वितमधुरपीयूषवचनं
त्विदं सत्यं तुष्यन्त्वतिरहसि संवीक्ष्य सुधियः ॥८॥

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तवैयं चोक्तं तद्दतमयि विधाता सुमतिमान्
सृजन्ते कल्पान्ते ह्यभिमतवरान् कल्प्य चतुरः ।
गतास्तत्र ह्येते सुतरुतले कामितवरान्
भजन्ते चत्वारः परमसुधियोऽत्यन्तकुमतिः ॥९॥
स एतेषां यद्यद्वरमपि ददे तत्तदभवत्
स्वयं ज्ञात्वा त्रोटन्निति विधिकृतं सत्यसुवचः ।
ततः कल्पो नष्टो भवति बहुकालेन विधिना
पुनः पाद्मः कल्पोऽभवदिति विचित्रं शृणु सखे ॥१०॥
ततो देवाः सर्वे प्रमुदितमनास्तेऽप्यमथयन्
सुधार्थास्तं सिन्धुं विधिवदनुरागेण महता ।
कृतार्थास्ते जाताः कृतकुमतिभावोऽपि सविषः
सुधा त्विन्दुर्धन्वन्तरिरथ सुमन्दार इति च ॥११॥
विषत्रस्ताः सर्वे दिविजभुविजा भोगिजगणाः
शिवं स्तोतुं चक्रुर्गरलमपिबन्नीरमिव तत् ।
ज्वलज्ज्वालाहालाहलकुटिलदुःखेन स शिवो
हृदि स्मृत्वा रामं परमसुखमाप प्रमुदितः ॥१२॥
जटाजूटे गङ्गा नदति मुकुटे स्यादुडुपतिः
सुधाकुम्भो हस्ते गरलमपि कण्ठे च शुशुभे ।
भवानी वामाङ्गे गुहगणपनन्दीश्वरयुतो
मुदा चासौ मृत्युञ्जय इति सुमन्दारभवने ॥१३॥
चतुर्णामितेषां जननमरणं चैकसमये
पुनर्जाता पूर्वापरमथ सुमित्रत्वमपि ते ।
करे कण्ठे भाले शशिविषसुधा भान्ति सुमना-
स्ततोऽप्येको धन्वन्तरिरथ बहिस्तिष्ठति कथम् ॥१४॥
शिवः स्वात्मानन्दो निशि दिनमतो योगनिरतः
स निर्गत्य सत्त्वान् भयमपि करोतीति जगति ।
विदित्वैनं धन्वन्तरिमथ बहिः स्थाप्य कृपया
सदानन्देनासौ स्थित इति समाधौ परशिवे ॥१५॥
सत्सङ्गात् फलमीदृशं शिवगले प्राप्तं स संकल्पवत्
क्ष्वेडो जात इति त्रयोऽप्यमृतरूपेणाभिजाताः सतः।

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सत्यः कल्पतरुस्तथैव जनितो धाता समर्थो महान्
आयातः कवितालये फलमिदं वैश्यो द्विजः संगमात् ॥१६॥
विनाधीतं काव्याध्ययनमपि वैयाकरणम-
प्यधीतं न्यायं वै सकलमपि कोशाश्रयबलम् ।
यथामत्या प्रश्नोत्तरमथ गुरोरङ्घ्रिकृपया
मयाख्यातं काव्यं मनसि विलसन्तु प्रसुधियः ॥१७॥
इति विचित्राख्यानके कविवाग्विलासे वैश्यब्राह्मणसंवादे विचित्राख्यानकं समाप्तिमगमत् ॥

श्रीदक्षिणामूर्तिगुरवे नमः।
श्रीदक्षिणामूर्तिरतिप्रसिद्धो गुरुर्गुरूणां च शिवस्वरूपः ,
विज्ञानदृक् चित्रवटस्य मूले यः संस्थितस्तं प्रणमामि नित्यम् ॥१॥
शिष्यः पुष्करशर्मा तेनाप्युक्तः परार्थलाभाय ।
शैवप्रकाशमाख्यं कृत्वा मां प्रतिबोधय स्वामिन् ॥२॥
पुरा विचित्राख्यकवित्वमध्ये किञ्चिच्छिवे कश्मलभावमुक्तम् ।
विशेषतस्तत्परिहृत्य साक्षाच्छिवप्रकाशातिशयं प्रकुर्याम् ॥३॥
गङ्गाजूटो गरलमपि तत्प्राश्य दुःखेन रामं
स्मृत्वा सद्योऽप्यतिसुखमनुप्राप्तवानेव मुक्तम् ।
निश्चिन्त्योऽयं निरवधिसुखः सच्चिदानन्दरूपः
तस्माद्दुःखं कुत इति सदानन्दसन्दोहमूर्तेः ॥४॥
शिष्येणोक्तं विमलमतिना तेन वाक्यं विशेषं
श्रुत्वा साक्षात् परमशिवसाम्राज्ययोगप्रकाशम् ।
आख्यानं तत् परमपुरुषार्थं समाधाय चित्ते
निश्चित्य श्रीचरणकृपया प्राप्तबुद्ध्या प्रवक्ष्ये ॥५॥
रामश्चोमा त्रिजगति सतां रक्षकौ तावुभाव-
प्येको यत्र प्रभवति भयं तत्र रक्षां करोति ।
एवं ज्ञात्वा परमकरुणोदारकीर्तिर्यशःश्रीः
रामस्यातस्त्रिजगति कथां सोऽपि विस्तारयच्च ॥६॥
कुक्षौ तिष्ठत्यपि स भुवनं स्थावरं जङ्गमं च
स्मृत्वा कण्ठे गरलमपि तद्धारयन्नीलकण्ठः ।
नाम प्राप्तः सकलदिविजैः कल्पवृक्षप्रसूनैः

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तं चावाकिरदिति शिवं शंकरं स्तोतुमीडे ॥७॥
सदात्मरूपः पुरुषः स रामश्चिदात्मरूपः प्रकृतिश्च सोमा ।
शिवः स एकः परिपूर्ण आत्मा सच्चित्परानन्दमयः परात्मा ॥८॥
एवं स्तोत्रैः सरसिजभवाद्यन्यदेवाः स सर्वे
स्तुत्वैवं तं शिवसममहेश्वर्यवान् कोऽपि न स्यात् ।
सोमा रामामृतमयवपुर्यस्य जाया मनोज्ञा
तस्याः रामोऽग्रज इति तथा शालकोऽयं शिवस्य ॥९॥
उमायाः स भ्राता कथय कथमेवं सरसिजो -
द्भवाद्यैः स्तोत्राणां स्तुतिभिरभिसंप्रेडि(रि)तमिति ।
स्वयं जातौ कस्माद्वद परमगुह्यं सुमतिमन्
वरस्त्वं वक्तॄणां परिभुवि तवाख्याति भवति ॥१०॥
स्वतः सिद्धः साक्षान्न किमपि पुरा ब्रह्मण इति
स्वकानन्दात् सच्चिद्युतघनमिवाण्डं प्रभवति ।
तदर्धार्धाज्जातौ प्रकृतिपुरुषौ द्वावपि समौ
ह्यतो रामो मे स्यादिति खलु सखे भ्रातृभगिनी ॥११॥
रजो ब्रह्मा सत्त्वो हरिरपि तमो रुद्र इति ते
त्रयः साक्षान्मायात्रिगुणजनिताश्चोद्यमरताः ।
तुरीयोद्भूतश्चेश्वर इति तुरीयातीत स शिवः
कुरापस्तेजोवायुनभ इति पञ्चाधिपतयः ॥१२॥
अतस्तेषामूर्ध्वः परमशिव इत्येव कथितो
ह्युमा तस्यार्धाङ्गी हरिरपि तदर्धो भवति वै ।
उमारामौ सृष्टिस्थितिलयजगत्कारणपरौ
परब्रह्माभिख्यः परमशिव एवाधिपुरुषः ॥१३॥
स एवायं साक्षादिति परतरं नास्ति विबुधा
विनिश्चित्य स्वान्तं विगतभयशोकाः सुमतयः ।
चतुर्णां वेदानां मथितपदवाक्यार्थविदिता
भजन्ते स्वात्मानं हृदि रहसि तत्त्वं ह्यसि पदे ॥१४॥
तमात्मानं वन्दे हृदयकमले द्वादशदले
स्थितं विश्वात्मानं शिवमखिलमीशानममलम् ।

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परात्मानं सच्चिद्घनमचलमाद्यं परशिवं
सहस्रारे पद्मे शिरसि परमात्मानमनिशम् ॥१५॥
उमाकान्तं सीतापतिहृदयवासं शशिधरं
शिवं साम्बं शम्भुं परमवरदं मङ्गल [मय]म्
भजन्ते ये मर्त्या इह सुखमनुप्राप्य सकलं
लभन्ते ते शीघ्रं परमशिवसायुज्यपदवीम् ॥१६॥
कर्णाटे देशवर्ये त्रिजगति विलसच्छ्रीलसद्रङ्गपूः स्यात्
कावेरीमध्यभागेऽप्यहिकृतशयनो रङ्गनाथः प्रसिद्धः ।
तस्याः स्यादुत्तरे चाम्बुधिरिव जलकल्लोलवीचिस्तडागा-
त्पश्चाद्भागे समीपे कुणिगिलनगरे ब्रह्मवृन्दाख्यवीथ्याम् ॥१७॥
ऋग्वेदी कण्वगोत्राम्बुधिभवभगवद्रामभक्तोऽन्नदानी
शर्मा कर्णाटकाख्यः सुविमलमतिमान् ज्ञातिबब्बूरकम्मः ।
तत्पुत्रेणेति काव्यं विरचितकवितायुक्तिभावप्रमाणं
दृष्ट्वा सुज्ञाः परज्ञाः प्रमुदितमनसाः पण्डिताः शोधयन्तु ॥१८॥
इति कविवाग्विलासे शिष्यगुरुसंवादे विचित्राख्यानके शिवप्रकाशाख्यं समाप्तिमगमत् ॥
श्री साम्बसदाशिवार्पणमस्तु ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥

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शर्मा अनन्त : सनातन कल्प वेद

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मिश्र राजेश्वर : सर्वमेध यज्ञ का आध्यात्मिक स्वरूप

शतांशु सोमदेव : वेदार्थ द्योतक श्रौतसूत्र

तोमर विजेन्द्र कुमार : वेदार्थ प्रक्रिया में गृह्यसूत्रों का योगदान

शास्त्री श्रीवत्स : श्रौतसूत्र एवं उनकी उपयोगिता

मिश्र दुर्गाप्रसाद : वेदार्थ प्रक्रिया में श्रौतसूत्र

तिवारी शशि : वैदिक संहिताओं में यज्ञ और आयु

मिश्र राजेन्द्र : पर्यावरण की वैदिक पृष्ठभूमि

मिश्र अभिराज राजेन्द्र : शिव संकल्प सूक्त (हिन्दी काव्यानुवाद)

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जैन ज्योतिप्रसाद : भारतवर्ष का एक प्राचीन जैन-विश्वविद्यालय

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पाण्डेय नीलम : आचार्य हजारी प्रसाद द्विवेदी के निबंधों में अभिव्यक्त सांस्कृतिक चेतना

शोधपत्रिका, इंस्टिट्यूट ऑफ राजस्थान स्टडीज़, राजस्थान विद्यापीठ, उदयपुर, ३१३००१

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माथुर सरिता : ध्रुवपद बंदिशों में ऋतुवर्णन

शर्मा रामनिवास : पंजाब का हस्तलिखित हिन्दी साहित्य

शर्मा कलमेश : याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति में विधि का स्वरूप व वर्गीकरण

दुबे राजीव : राष्ट्रीय चेतना का प्रतीक : खादी

पाठक नरेश कुमार : भोपालपट्नम् का सांस्कृतिक वैभव

देव द्वारकानाथ : महाराणा प्रताप के स्वतंत्रता संग्राम का महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थल 'गोगुन्दा'

शोधसमवेत, श्री कावेरी शोध संस्थान, उज्जैन

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श्रीवास्तव ए. पी. : समाज में धर्म की सकारात्मक भूमिका : एक समाजशास्त्रीय अध्ययन

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अङ्कः २, वर्षः ३७, नवेम्बर २०००

शास्त्री सुनन्दा : स्मृतिषु पर्यावरणम्

पण्डा रवीन्द्रकुमार : जीवनशतकम्

जानी गिरिश : गीर्वाणभाषां पठ संस्कृतीशाम्

फाटकः माधवः : गीतायां स्वीकृतं सांख्यम्

जुननकर चारुलता : श्रीहर्षप्रतिज्ञा

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Obituary

PRO. RAMCHANDRA NARAYAN DANDEKAR

Emeritus Professor Dr. Ramchandra Narayan Dandekar passed away on the 11th December 2001, just a few months before the completion of his 93rd year, and thereby the international career of the flying Professor of Sanskrit came to an end.

Dr. Dandekar's writing is characterised by obituary notices, survey articles, concluding addresses, opening speeches, forewords, translations of important works, editorial work etc.

Dr. Dandekar is known as the best administrator and profound scholar-this happy combination in his personality is really an enviable fact.He held both the responsibilities with perfect ease in the words of Dr. P.L. Vaidya.

Dr. Dandekar's name is known to the scholarly world for his monumental work, the five volumes of *Vedic Bibliography*. When, the printing of the sixth volume of the *Vedic Bibliography* was in progress, he breathed his last. In this respect, one will have to admit that on him there was the great impact of Professor Louse Renou who first started or materialised the idea of Vedic Bibliography.

It must be admitted that Dr. Dandekar brought international fame to the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Pune. Under his editorship, the journals and the other publications of the Institute became world-wide known. As an editor of the *Journal* of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, and *Proceedings* of the All India Oriental Conferences, for the last nearly 60 years, his output came to about 39,000 pages. It is worth noting that sometimes he added post-scripts not only to his own articles but also to the articles of other scholars, particularly when publication went under his guidance. It seems that he tried to make the work as best as possible.

Dr. Dandekar's translations of the Vedic *Śrauta-Koṣa* in five Volumes published by the Vedic Samshodhan Mandal, Poona, can be regarded as his significant contribution to the science of ritual. This figure of his translation of the *Śrauta-Koṣa* comes to about 2,500 pages.

Dr. Dandekar is, however, best known as the Vedic Scholar of the international fame. As pointed out by Dr. S. K. Lal in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute,* Baroda Vol. XLVII, Nos. 1-2, Sept.-December, 1997, and adding few more entries, the figure of the Vedic entries on the name of Dandekar comes to 150. It must be remarked here that in the words of Dr. T.G. Mainkar, Dr. Dandekar made authoritative pronouncements in the Vedic studies. It is the thesis of Dandekar that the Vedic Mythology is essentially evolutionary. For advocating this important theory, Dandekar published his papers in a book form under the title *'Vedic Mythological Tracts '* in the year 1979.

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On account of his frequent visits to the foreign countries and his associations with the All India Oriental Conference for a period of 50 years, it is no wonder that he was honoured by several Universities by conferring on him the Honorary Degree of D.Litt. It is practically impossible to enlist here the honours that he received. His scholarship was also awarded by the Bombay and Poona Municipalities.

It is worth noting that Dr. Dandekar received five or six times, amount of one lakh Rupees from the different Institutes for his profound scholarship. But it is rather tragic that he was not honoured by the President of India by the prestigious award of *'Bhārata-Ratna'*. Hence he was required to remain satisfied by the title of *'Padma-Bhūṣaṇa'* only, conferred on him in the year 1962.

Dr. Dandekar further believed that real research is possible only in the *Veda* and *Vyākaraṇa*. He also held that Vāsavadattā was not the heroine but the hero of the play *'Svapnavāsavadattam'*.

It must also be stated here that the speciality of Dr. Dandekar's writing lies in presenting the matter analytically and impressively. His survey articles of the works of Indian and foreign scholars will tempt any one to describe him as the Cultural Ambassador of India. He also exhibited complete command of the subject and of the Bibliographic material as is the case with Jan Gonda.

The students of the Poona University will certainly remember Dr. Dandekar as the best scholar, excellent teacher and impressive orator in the class rooms.

Some of his important publications may be mentioned here. 1) *Vedic Mythological Tracts*, 2) *Insights into Hinduism*, 3) *Exercises in Indology*, 4) *The Age of the Guptas and other Essays*, 5) *Indological Miscellanea*, 6) *Some Aspects of the History of Hinduism*, 7) *Critical Edition of the Śalya Pravan* and the *Anuśāsana Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, 8) Five translation Volumes of the *Śrauta-Koṣa*.

His list of publication published in his Felicitation volumes is very wide and impressive and covers the fields of ancient Indian Culture, *Mahābhārata*, *Veda*, Hinduism, History, Critical Edition of manuscripts, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. His writing in Marathi also comes to about 500 pages.

In paying my respectful homage to this doyen of Vedic Scholars, I simply hope that may his meritorious service to the scholarly world continue to inspire scholars to prepare the Bibliographies of other branches of the Sanskrit Studies. In his sad demise, the world has lost the international scholar, the students have lost the inspiring teacher, the science of ritual has lost a faithful translator, the Vedic field has lost the cultural ambassador, and the Institutes have lost the able administrator and thus the Sanskrit world has suffered a very heavy loss. May his soul rest in peace.

78-B Tatya Gharpure Marg,
J.S.S.Road, Mumbai -4

S.G.Moghe

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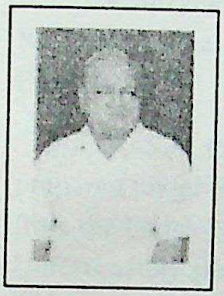
Obituary



P. H. Joshi

We, the members of the Oriental Institute family, deeply mourn the sad, sudden and untimely demise of our senior member Shri P.H. Joshi on 3rd of September 2002.

Shri Purushottam Haribhau Joshi, born on 8th February 1939, joined the Oriental Institute on the *Gurupūrṇimā* day i.e. the 6th July of 1963 as a Research Assistant and from 1971 onwards worked as a Research Officer for 30 long years till his retirement on 14th June, 2001. In between he held the charge of Deputy Director and General Editor, Critical Edition Wing.

Shri Joshi, who has worked in the Oriental Institute for nearly 4 decades, was known for his soft speech, humble nature and scholarship. He wrote a good number of research articles in various journals in different languages. His book -reviews were highly appreciated. He was involved with the publication of many books of which one is the *Cetovinodanakāvya* of Dāji Jyotivid (Critical Edition) with Dr. S.Y. Wakankar (published under M.S. University Oriental Series no. 16 in 1991); the second is *Alphabetical List of Manuscripts in the Oriental Institute* , Vol III with Shri B.P. Pandya (published under the Gaekwad Oriental Series No. 178 in 1998). He along with Dr. M.L. Wadekar edited the articles written in Sanskrit, Marathi and English by the renowned scholar Shri Jagannath Shridhar Pade Shastri, in two books-*Dharme Sarvaṁ Pratiṣṭhitam* (Sanskrit & English) and *Akṣaravāṅmaya* (Marathi). Unfortunately the Critical Edition of *Priyamvadācaritam* of Bhikudeva will be published posthumously under G.O. Series. It is sad to mention that nearly 10 more works of his, based on rare manuscripts, are left incomplete. He was thorough with the huge collection of manuscrips of the Oriental Institute as well as of the collection of other Research Institutes. He was an apt authority on manuscript-studies. He was well-versed in Sanskrit, Marathi, Gujarati, English and Hindi.

Shri P.H. Joshi was worthy nephew of the renowned scholar Pandit J.S. Pade Shastri. During his long association with the Oriental Institute and its staff, he endeared himself with his amiable manners, soft spokenness and his elderly attitude while helping his colleagues in discharging their duties. One important quality of his personality was, his humane attitude and he never lost his cool even though going through rough moments at the fag end of his career.

We pray the Almighty God to give courage to all of us to bear this irreparable loss. May his Soul rest in peace.

S.Y. Wakankar

Oriental Institute,
M.S. University of Baroda,

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REVIEWS

A Survey of Post-Śaṅkara Advaita Vedānta by Dr.S.A.Nachane, Edited by Dr. Ravindra Kumar Panda, Pub. by Paramamitra Prakashan, Delhi, 2000 A.D., Pages 360, Price-Rs. 550.

Dr. S.A. (Sulochana Ananta) Nachane wrote this work as her doctoral dissertation, prepared under the guidance of Prof. R. D. Karmarkar, and got the degree in January 1953 from the Poona University . She served as a Lecturer in Sanskrit in the University of Baroda. Unfortunately she died early and the thesis remained unpublished all these years. Dr. Uma Deshpande happened to be her student. When she came to become Head of the Sanskrit Department, she took interest in the work and asked her colleague Dr. R. K. Panda to edit the thesis and publish the book. He wrote a short editorial of two and a half page, appreciating the work, and got the above publisher from Delhi who has done the publication well.

Though the credit of bringing the thesis into the book form goes to the editor, he has presented it in such a way as to appear the work as his own. On the title page of the jacket, its span, inside title page and its back, Dr. Panda's name appears. Inside the last cover page his photograph with his information appears. His signature under the editorial also comes. Thus his name is seen six times. The author Dr. Nachane's name appears once on the inside title page, while she is the author, the book is surprisingly dedicated by the editor to the author.

In the short editorial, there are three spelling mistakes, two mistakes of grammatical construction and one mistake of quite a wrong use of the word. The proofs are read by his wife and sister who are thanked, though they have allowed the mistakes. Taking their help into consideration one wonders what the editor has done himself.

Dr. S. A. Nachane has done her job appreciably well as the author of the book. Besides the pages given for her own brief Preface, a list of Abbreviations, Contents and the Bibliography of seven pages, the main text of six chapters consists of 340 pages. The first chapter of Introduction gives a bird's eye-view of Pre-Śaṅkara *Advaita* from the Vedas and Upaniṣads to *Bhagavadgītā, Brahmasūtras,* Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara's own *Advaita.* The second chapter deals with the successors of Śaṅkara including his immediate pupils Sureśvara, Padmapāda, Toṭaka and Hastāmalaka, followed by Vācaspati. This chapter discusses the three theories regarding the relationship between *Brahman, Īśvara* and *Jīva,* namely *Ābhāsa, Pratibimba* and *Avaccheda,* and the part played by *Avidyā.* The third chapter deals with the Advaitins during 9th to12th centuries. In this the important theories

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of error or *khyātis* are elaborated. These are *Ātmakhyāti, Akhyāti, Anyathākhyāti* and *Asatkhyāti* which are refuted, and lastly Advaitin's *Anirvacanīyakhyāti* is established. This chapter refers to the contributions to *Advaita* made by Vimuktātman, Prakāśātman, Sarvajñātman, Ānandabodha, Śrīharṣa, Citsukha, Amalānanda etc. The fourth chapter summarises the later Advaitins from the thirteenth to eighteenth centuries. This according to the author was a period of stagnation, though the important Advaitins during this period were Vidyāraṇya, Nṛsiṁhāśrama, Prakāśānanda, Appaya Dīkṣita and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. The fifth chapter mentions the rest of the Advaitins, wherein its first part contains a short description of comparatively bigger names, while the second part consists of the minor Advaitins with their works. Altogether this chapter of forty pages accounts for 239 Advaitins, quite a big number.

The last chapter summarises the growth and importance of *Advaita* throughout the centuries. Just as *Advaita* was developing on one side, the other *āstika* or Vedic schools and *nāstika* or non-Vedic schools were also developing alongside. The Vedic schools were six, namely, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā and Uttara-Mīmāṁsā (also called *Vedānta*). The *Advaitavedānta* had to confront the opposition from all these, as it had to repute the non-Vedic three schools of Lokāyata, Jainism and Buddhism. The *Advaita* system of the Upaniṣads was summarised in the *Brahmasūtras* and the *Bhagavadgītā* , which three were known as *prasthānatrayī* . The great *Ācāryas* like Rāmānuja, Madhva, Vallabha, Nimbārka etc., wrote their own commentaries on these three presenting their views and opposing Advaitism. *Advaita* school also had to refuse their views in the developing course of history.

The *Advaita* came also to be associated with the methodology of realization consisting of *karmayoga, jñānayoga,* and *bhaktiyoga.* Śaṅkara's own emphasis was on *Jñānayoga,* though there was a place for both *karmayoga* and *bhaktiyoga,* which infact unfortunately was not properly attended to by the others. The other Vedāntins particularly emphasized *bhaktiyoga.* The later *Advaita* writers like Madhusūdana Sarasvatī and the saints in India, writing in their own vernacular languages, who accepted *Advaita* as the greatest way of thought and life, accepted *bhakti* as the most important aspect of life based on *Advaita.* Thus *Advaita* of Śaṅkara has been and continues to be the most widespread and dominant philosophy of India. It has influenced also the western trends in philosophy. Bibliography in the end enlists (A) eightyfour Manuscripts and books, (B) thirteen catalogues of MSS. in various libraries, twenty journals and thirteen general books on *Vedānta.* All these are extensively referred to in the Foot-Notes running into several hundreds at the end of the chapters. Thus Dr. Nachane's book is an important addition to *Advaita* literature.

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A.G. Javadekar

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Jaina Philosophy and Religion (English Translation of 'Jaina Darshana 'by Muni Shri Nyāyavijayajī), Translated by Dr. Nagin J. Shah, Pub. by Bhogilal Lehar Chand Institute of Indology, 20 KM. GT. Karnal Road, Delhi-110036 as BLII Series No. 12, First Edition, 1998, pp. 25+469, Price-Rs. 450.

It is a pleasure to review such an excellent book. The translator being a skilled scholar of Indian Philosophy who has taken great pains to express the exact meaning of the original in proper verbal expressions in lucid English, at no place can one feel that it is a translation.

The original author is an eminent writer and his Gujarati book *Jaina Darśana* is his *magnum opus* , which is the best book on the subject, its presentation being quite cogent and interesting and as such it has run into as many as twelve editions. It has been translated into Hindi as well. It reveals the author's sincere and honest efforts to bring out the true significance of Jain views on all different topics.

The detailed Table of Contents of five pages gives a clear idea about the details of the treatment of the different topics. The book is divided into six chapters (1) Essentials of Jaina Philosophy (2) Jaina Path of Purification (Liberation) (3) Reflections on some problems of Metaphysics, Ethics and Spiritual Development (4) *Karma* Philosophy (Law of Moral Causation) (5) Jaina Logic and (6) Non-Sectarian and Liberal Outlook.

The author is at home in all philosophical systems of India. All discussions reveal his penetrating insight. The term *Darśana* employed by him in the title of his book bear the sense of *Dharma Sampradāya* or ' Religious Sect ' (p. XVI) and he explains the term *Sampradāya* as that which offers rightly, i.e. , a tradition rightly offering sacred knowledge or pure thought (p. XVI). A nice definition of *Dharma* or religion is given as "the path adopting which one can remove defilement and attain the pure state i.e. the state of non-attachment". (p. 153) He further affirms that "Universal brotherhood is the light of non-violence and hence the heart of religion" (p. 177).

A very clear distinction is made between suicide and *Saṁlekhanā* on pp. 157-160 and a special interpretation of the term *Paraloka* is discussed on pp. 314-316.

Copious examples are furnished here and there from every-day social life which prove guide-lines for us all and as such the book is important from the view-point of getting right guidance in every-day life of modern times. Every now and then the author has made nice striking observations.

All important philosophical terms are translated into English quite accurately revealing the worthy translator's integral exactness. The term *Bhāvanā* is translated as" Soteriological

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reflection" and *leśyā* as "Spiritual-mental colouration" and *Samyaktva* as "Integrity or purity of inclination, attitude, outlook."

At the close of the book the translator has appended the following six topics which indeed enhance the value of the volume: (1) Gospels of Mahāvīra (4 pages), (2) Select Bibliography (3 pages) (3) Author Index (2 Pages) (4) Title Index (2 pages) (5) Word Index (10 pages) and (6) Subject Index (13 Pages).

This comprehensive and authoritative book is sure to prove of immense importance to students of Jain Philosophy in particular and Indian Philosophy in general. It is as perfect as one can possibly expect it to be. No minor point is missed and clarity of thought is nowhere hampered. A book reaching perfection to such an extent is rarely met with.

The translator and the publisher deserve our hearty congratulations for producing such an excellent work. The choice of this particular book for English translation itself gives great credit to them !

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J. P. Thaker

Amaracandrayati's 'Kāvyakalpalatāvṛttiḥ' (with two commentaries: *Parimala* and *Makaranda*), edited by R.S. Betai, L.D. Series No. 117 (General Editor: Jitendra B. Shah), Pub. by L.D. Institute of Inodology, Ahmedabad- 380009, First Edition, July 1997, pp. 24 +232 +156, Price- Rs. 225.

Jains, especially Jain monks have contributed qualitatively and quantitatively to the growth and development of Sanskrit Literature in Gujarat in various branches of Sanskrit Literature. Here is a contribution of the Department of Poetics by Amaracandrayati of *Śvetāmbara* sect and he is placed in 12th century V.S. (Introduction, p.4). P.V. Kane assigns him to the 13th century A.D. (*History of Sanskrit Poetics* , Bombay,1951, p. 374). He has authored *Kāvyakalpalatāvṛtti alias Kāvyakalpalatā alias Kāvyaśikṣāvṛtti.* Obviously, the work deals with the training and equipment of a poet, *vyutpatti* and *abhyāsa* of traditional writers (Introduction, p.2). It has been published twice and translated in Marathi also but wishes it to be translated into Gujarati /English.

As the earlier editions were not satisfactory Dr. Betai undertook to prepare a thoroughly revised critical edition of *Kāvyakalpalatāvṛtti* (Introduction, p.2) together with the *Parimala* and the *Makaranda* which are published here for the first time (Introduction, p.2). One misses here the information about the manuscripts utilised and the principles followed here in the preparation of the critical edition.

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About the authorship, it may be noted that the tradition tells and Amaracandrayati acknowledged that originally : The *Kāvyakalpalatā* was a *sūtra*-work composed by Arisiṁha, the son of Āṣaḍa and Dr. Betai observes that it would be more reasonable to accept the fact of the dual authorship of the *Sūtras* (Introduction p. 4). Amaracandra has composed the *Vṛtti* i.e. *Kāvyakalpalatāvṛtti,* as well as another *Vṛtti*, namely, the *Parimala-vṛtti* i.e. it is an auto-commentary. Śubhavijayagaṇi of Tapāgaccha who flourished in the 17th century VS [Introduction, p. 5; 1609 A.D. according to P.V. Kane (*ibid,* p. 387)], has composed another *vṛtti* known as the *Kāvyakalpalatā Makarandavṛtti,* which is briefly known as the *Makarandavṛtti.*

In the succinct Introduction Dr. Betai discusses the following points:

(i) Work (ii) authors (iii) *Parimala-vṛtti* (iv)scholarship of Amaracandra (v) *Makarandavṛtti* of Śubhavijayagaṇi (vi) *Kāvyaśikṣā* of Vinayacandrasūri (13th century A.D.) (vii) *Kāvyakalpalatāviveka* (authorship unknown) (viii) *Kāvyakalpalatākaviśikṣā* (ix) *Kavikalpalatā* of Deveśvara . The *Parimalavṛtti* (*Svopajñā Parimalaṭīkā*) is given as Appendix in this edition (pp. 233 ff). The Appendix II gives the *Kārikā-kramaḥ* (pp. 147 ff) in the alphabetical order.

The work under consideration has four *pratānas* and they are divided into various *stabakas* (*vide* Introduction, pp. 8ff. for information in brief.)

The book is printed nicely, but is printed in small type. It is wished that the *sūtras* and the commentary should have been printed in different types as is the general practice. One comes across some misprints and incomplete references during the course of the perusal. There are some quotations in the MIA language and it is wished that the Sanskrit *Chāyā* of such quotations should have been given either in footnotes or in a separate appendix, as is done by the late Vāmanācārya Rāmabhaṭṭa Jhalakikar in his commentary *Bālabodhinī* on Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa* edited by R.D. Karmarkar, BORI edition, Poona, 1950, pp. *eg.* 27, 28, 29, 244 etc.).

It is a pleasure to welcome this work, when the West is concerned and is making arrangements for training in creative writing (*vide* Hall Donald ,"The making of a Poet" *Span,* August, 1992, pp. 25ff). The author and the publisher deserve our hearty congratulations for publishing this work, which adds to the contribution of Jainas to the Sanskrit literature of Gujarat and to the literature in Poetics. We look forward for many more works from the pen of the editor in the years to come . It is also hoped that this work will find its place in the libraries of Indological Institutes, Universities and Colleges.

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Sureśvara's Vārtika on Jyotiṣabrāhmaṇa, Edited, Translated and Annotated by K.P. Jog and Shoun Hino, Pub. by Motilal Banarsidass (Pvt.) Ltd., Delhi, 2001, pp. i-xx + 774, Price: Rs. 950.

The work under review is the eleventh volume of the Advaita Tradition Series, prepared by the two great scholars, Prof. K.P.Jog and Dr. Shoun Hino. In it, they present to the world of scholars and students of oriental studies *Bṛhadāraṇyakabhāṣyavārtika*, the *Magnum-opus* of Śrī Sureśvarācārya, worthy disciple of Ādi Śaṅkarācārya. It is well known that Śaṅkara constructed a fulfledged system of philosophy called *kevalādvaita* by writing extensive commentaries on the *prasthānatraya* in which he tried to provide a logical foundation to the upaniṣadic theory of oneness of the individual Self and Brahman, the ultimate reality, by refuting the wrong views prevailing at that time.

Śaṅkara wrote a voluminous commentary on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (B.U.) and Sureśvara wrote *Vārtikas* on it aiming at discussing *ukta*, *anukta* and *durukta*, that is, expounding the concepts by clarifying Śaṅkara's words, *ukta*, and adding those points which he did not deal with, but are relevant to the exposition, *anukta*. This volume consists of the original Sanskrit text of the *Vārtikas* on B.U. 4.3 and their accurate English translation with necessary annotations.

The B.U. 4.3 is in a format of question-answer-session between the king Janaka and sage Yājñavalkya. In B.U. 4.2 the sage presented the definition of Brahman as *Vijñāna*, consciousness and *ānanda*, bliss. In B.U. 4.3 he proceeds to show the identity of the individual soul and Brahman by a critical and objective analysis of the experiences of man during the three ordinary states of waking, dream and deep sleep, as any attempt at determining his true nature on the basis of consideration of the experience of any one of these states would be partial, one -sided and hence incorrect. The king asks: "What light man has for doing his activities ?" The sage answers: "The sun is the light for man to come, go and perform other actions." "But what light has he when the sun sets ?", the king asked. "Moon", the sage replied. In this series of question-answer reached a state wherein no elemental light is available, and even the light of a humble lamp, torch or speech is absent. It suggests the state of dream in which all the abovementioned lights are not available. The sage replies: "Then, man is *ātmajyoti* or self-luminous. In his own light, he comes, goes and performs other actions." Thus man is said to be like a big fish moving to two banks of the river of existence, namely waking and dream. Regarding the experience in the state to deep sleep, it is stated that he is tired of roaming alternately to these two banks and like a falcon, folding its wings is borne to its nest, man enters his natural abode-theheart and rests there. That is his real nature, full of bliss, free from all desires. Here man crosses beyond all sorrows of his heart. Regarding the experience of not seeing anything in this

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state, it is said that though seeing, he does not see, for there is nothing apart from him that he could see. He does exist in deep sleep state and sees the absence of every thing. This is what man essentially is and it is about this that his oneness with Brahman is ascertained. The section ends with affirming that if man realises his true nature and attains absolute poise in his true Self in *samādhi*, he is liberated from all bonds here itself, before the fall of body. But if he fails to achieve this natural, existential objective of life, he has to find a new tabernacle, after the dissolution of the present body, like a caterpillar which does not leave its footstand until it finds a new one. And this forms the subject-matter of the next section.

Not finding any *durukta*, or wrong statement in Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya*, Sureśvara, however adds his own original contribution by criticising the views of Bhartrprapañca, an earlier Advaitin whom Śaṅkara also quotes and endorses or criticises depending upon the merits of his views, and refutes the wrong views of various schools of Buddhism, such as, *Bāhyārthavādin*, *Vijñānavādin* and *Śūnyavādin* and rejects outright the view that the body is the self, held by the followers of Cārvāka-an ancient Indian system of thought that consistently adhers to start materialism.

On the whole this volume and especially the whole Advaita Tradition Series is a monumental work demanding high quality of scholarship, insight into the most subtle and superb subject- matter and unswerving devotion and persistent labour of love. The two editors have rendered a yeomen service to the Advaita school of thought and deserve sincere gratitude of all lovers of wisdom, especially the students of oriental studies. The volume is sure to decorate the shelves in the libraries of all leading universities and academic Institutions devoted to higher studies.

11, Vrajadarshan Society, **R. T. Vyas**
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Thus Spoke Kṛṣṇa by Dr. Urmi Samir Shah, Pub. by Richa Prakashan, A2 Mahatma Gandhi Road, South Extension, Part I, New Delhi-110049, 1998, pp. 1-280, Price Rs. 300.

" *Thus Spoke Kṛṣṇa*" is a comparative study of the *Bhagavad gītā* and eleventh *Skandha* of *Śrīmad Bhāgavata Mahāpurāṇa*. The author is a Professor of Sanskrit in St. Xavir's College, Ahmedabad. She is well-versed in *Gītā* and her comparative survey with *Bhāgavata purāṇa* is well -studied and adequately substantiated from the original work. The uniqueness of the book is that it expounds the main principles of *Bhagavadgītā* such as

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Karma -Yoga, Jñāna-Yoga, Bhakti-Yoga, Dhyāna-Yoga, Sāṁkhya-Yoga, Avatāravāda, Vibhūti, its Eschatology and bringing a synoptic survey of all these. An attempt is made to compare them with similar principles held and delineated in *Bhāgavatapurāṇa.* As she has written in Preface, she was devoted to the all-pervading personality of Lord Kṛṣṇa from her adolescence and she wanted to fulfil the ideal of deep appreciation for the Supreme with the result that she brought out the entire work. The author has elevated all the three *Yogas* of action, devotion and knowledge but it appears that she has shown the *Yoga* of Devotion to be supreme as Lord Kṛṣṇa asks Arjuna to surrender to him alone and accept the aids of *Yoga* as true liberation.

Each chapter has its etymology, semantics, rational, historical and valuational significance and its due relevance in *Bhāgavata purāṇa* has been shown. While showing the value of each *Yoga* its comparison with other *Yogas* also has been considered. It is true that knowledge is supreme but it co-exists with action. This is the secret of human mind. So at no step of human development of personality it is possible to separate one from the other. The author points out the psychological associations prevailing among knowledge and action which cannot permit easy detachment. Although *Bhāgavata purāṇa* is clearly more inclined towards *Bhakti* than towards *Jñāna* and *Karma*, it describes and extols *Jñāna* in equally eloquent terms at various places in the *skandha* itself.

While dealing with the topic of knowledge the author says that *Jñāna* is the direct perception of the ultimate, while *vijñāna* is the indirect perception. Immediately after a para she says that *jñāna* is the same as *viveka* or discrimination and the means to develop it are the *Vedas, Tapas,* experience, tradition and reasoning and its fruit is the understanding of the supreme as the ever existing principle of the universe and time, as is the case of the basic metal gold and the objects made therefrom. It is diffiçult to make out the precise connotation of knowledge. Then again at the end of the topic it is said that *Paramahaṁsas* prefer *Bhaktiyoga* to *Jñānayoga.* The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* goes a step further and emphasises that *Jñāna* dawns on a person only due to God's grace. The author thinks that all the three *Yogas* are equally valuable but as *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* is mainly oriented towards devotion to Lord Kṛṣṇa and it is regarded as the highest path of human endeavour, it is the highest *Yoga* also. In the chapter on *Bhaktiyoga,* on the topic of types of *Bhakta* it is written that Lord Kṛṣṇa extols the *Karmayoga* yet he opines that the *Yogī* who is full of faith with his inner self abiding in God is the best, implying that the great *Yogī* is also the great *Bhakta.* Highly esteemed *Yogī* sees the identity between himself and God all around him, and thus worships him.

It is known that *Gītā* is not a convenient scripture to properly interpret for Śaṅkarācārya as he advocates Impersonal *Brahman* and knowledge of *Brahman* as the

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highest goal. The author does not mention this explicitly but she points out from *Vivekacūdāmani* to the effect that faith, meditation and desire for liberation are the most significant means for supreme knowledge. Although the quest of knowledge is supreme, it does not make the means of *Bhakti* the equivalent of knowledge. It is true that Śaṅkara exhorts Mother-worship and he wrote *stotras* as *Saundaryalahari*. However he thinks ultimately that devotion to God is inferior to meditation and concentration on the nature of *Brahman*. Besides that her statement in treatment on *Bhakti* schools of *Vedānta* which Nimbārka, Madhva, Vallabha and Caitanya followed by merely introducing minor re-statements to suit their theologies. This is not adequate evaluation of later *Bhakti* schools as Madhva's school is quite distinct as Dualistic, Vallabha's as *Śuddhādvaita* and Caitanya's as *Acintya Bhedābheda* principle with relationship between Self and *Brahman*. Although these thinkers hold devotion as the supreme means as approach to *Brahman* or Personal God, their analysis of self-consciousness and sense of utter surrender is quite distinct from that of Rāmānuja. In Orissa and Bengal the personality of Caitanya is worshipped as an incarnation of Lord Kṛṣṇa. A reference can be made to Saint Jñāneśvara whose commentary on *Gītā* is quite esteemed and it has distinct status among the saints of Maharashtra.

Of course the author's treatment of *Bhakti*, its types, nature in different systems, characteristics and ways are admirable and as it is compared with the religion of *Para-bhakti* in *Bhāgavata* it is bound to be more valuable. There is an additional chapter on *Dhyāna-yoga* which is dealt with in the sixth canto of *Gītā*. It is compared with the concept of *Saṁnyāsa* and it is shown that the proper attitude is inward renunciation and rejection of desires and lusts of vital life. It is pointed out that it is God-consciousness which makes the self introvert. This is also compared with the eleventh *skandha* of *Bhāgavata* where Kṛṣṇa addresses Uddhava. What is most significant in *Gītā* is the total consecration to God and surrender to the Puruṣottama. It is said to be "*Mānparah*". In the *Yoga* of Patañjali "*Īśvara praṇidhāna*" is optional but in *Gītā* it is very much required for the devotee and seeker of truth. Most useful guidance has been given here for the *sādhaka* to the effect that practice of *Prāṇāyāma* with *praṇava* practised ten times during the three *sandhyās* enables the aspirant to gain control over breath. The author notes that a novel and an interesting idea is introduced in the *Dhyānayoga* by the author of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, namely, the co-relation of the *Nāda Brahman* and the Supreme *Brahman*. The merits and pitfalls of super-natural powers gained on account of devotional worship of the Lord and Yogic realization are discussed at length and compared with account in *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*.

The seventh chapter on the Highest Reality is an all-round consideration of the topic of Supreme Reality. It is traced to Vedas, especially *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, *Ṛgveda*, *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*. It is held from Theistic standpoint in *Gītā* and in *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. Belief in God as Infinite has remained constant in these

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scriptures. However its aspects whether cosmic, transcendent, creator, immanent, personal and as helper have remained as predominant content in one scripture or another . The point to be noted is that in *Gītā* three main aspects of the absolute are mentioned. They are *Kṣara*, *Akṣara* and *Puruṣottama* which are assumed by Reality and this is uttered by Lord Kṛṣṇa in the fifteenth canto. As all the three are held different, *Ācāryas* of *Vedānta* systems find their corroboration of views in one or other canto of *Gītā* . However Lord Kṛṣṇa is not fully revealing the 'secret' of poises of Infinite and it remains so upto the last in *Gītā* . This is compared with *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* and there its predominant aspect of 'personal' God is assumed with major emphasis.

Avatāravāda, *Vibhūti* and sermon on *Avadhūta* are undertaken with careful thought and comparative acumen. The issue of ascent and descent of the supreme person in *Gītā* is its corner-stone. It is for the first time found in the scripture of Indian thought with the authenticity of Lord Himself. This is why in different way the problem of Avatarhood has become a butt of debate during centuries. However it has remained bedrock for perennial faith of average Indian and highest intelligence. It is said in critical philosophy of religion that problem of religion is not how man becomes God but how God becomes man. It is considered how Infinite assumes the form of finitude. It is usually believed in case of *Avatāras* that they are to be taken literally which seems to be a mistake. The names of animals and men, gods and semi-gods are not to be taken literally but with symbolic connotation. Otherwise there may arise contradiction, for instance that of fish and boar, Paraśurāma and Rāma. One may profitably compare this with the hypothesis of evolution although it pertains to natural science such as Biology. It is right in its application and in Indian philosophy it is *Satkāryavāda* which holds the principle to the effect that effect lies in the cause. So the world cannot be outside the purview of the reality.

In *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* Lord Kṛṣṇa is The Absolute and it is held that world in its different facets is his manifestation. It is the final stamp of the creative personality of Absolute who shows grace and protects the righteous beings and destroys evil in the world. The Author has shown distinctly the close similarity between *Gītā* and *Bhāgavata* with regard to the account of *Vibhūti*. The sermon of the Avadhūta Dattātreya is undertaken with the elucidation of twentyfour *Gurus*. For reference of Gurudatta the Upaniṣads which are mentioned are not the principal Upaniṣads. That way many Upaniṣads have been written arising from the need of the time. As the main aim of *Gītā* is the mental control and the establishment of equanimity it can be compared with dialogue such as that of teaching of Avadhūta. *Gītā* is a part of *Prasthānatrayī* and it is quite radical in its approach to recognition of Supreme Reality. In its concept of *'Yajña'*, sacrifice it implores the seeker to consecrate everything at the feet of the Lord. It is not only symbolic of supreme holocaust but it demands highest aspiration from the individual. Individual is

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supposed to perform *Yoga*. That is not so regarding the demand in *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

With regard to Eschatology an attempt has been made to draw the root of immortality and rebirth which are held in *Gītā*. In the later chapters on 'authority of Vedas', *Māyā*, means of attaining *Jñāna* concept of *Caturvyūha*, Holy company, *Varṇāśrama* system, Gurudom, the author has brought out the roots of these ideas and shown their place in *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. As regards the method and its comparison with *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, it may be mentioned that *Gītā* emerges out of certain circumstances faced by Arjuna and it is in reply to questions posed at that time. It is not entire thought system as it is in case of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

The Foreword of the book has been written by Shri Kireet Joshi who has complimented the author and the relevance of the message of *Gītā* for modern times is quite pertinent as the people all around are in search for true liberation, peace of mind, equanimity, panacea for the present ills of society and the world at large. *Gītā* and *Bhāgavata* can indeed have the way for such lasting remedy. At the end of the book a fitting index both for subject and name would have filled in the need of reference.

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Alakapuri, Vadodara **Harsiddh M. Joshi**

The Indus Script and the Ṛgveda, Egbert Richter-Ushanas, Pub. by Motilal Pvt. Ltd. Banarsidass, Delhi, 1997, pp. 194+ Bibl., Index., Price - Rs. 395/-

The book under review is yet another, and a fresh, attempt to decipher the seals and the writings of the Indus Valley. In it the author tries to convince that the script in the above mentioned is an early type of Vedic Sanskrit. The author has collected information from numerous sources, including the Sumerian, Greek and others. He has also taken help from history and archaeology together with astrology. The first chapter "The Indus Script and the Ṛgveda" has given the name to the book. It is long and comprehensive. It also presents the author's approach and methodology he has used. Other chapters are: "The Lord of Beasts"; "Seals and Tablets with Anthropomorphic Motifs (such as the Centaur motif; Man between two tigers; The Tiger and the Goddess in a Kino Tree; Interpretation of *Ṛgveda* X. 123 and X. 101)"; "Indus Seals and Tablets with composite Animals; " "The Bull Upon the Woman and the Aśvamedha"; " Purūravas and Urvaśī"; "Gilgamesh and Ancient India" and a couple of others. The contents are attractive and the coverflap depicting a seal is impressive. In one chapter, he has also discussed the mutually corresponding letters from the Indus seals, Brāhmī and Tamil. According to the author, many words in the Indus

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seals are non-Aryan, though on the whole, the language is early Vedic. He makes his position very clear by saying, "I do not claim to have deciphered the Indus Script completely, nor do I claim that this is a totally scientific approach", though surely he believes that " the Indus writers are identical with the first Vedic seers and priests". He says that, in many cases syllables can be dropped and *ghṛta* is identical with *gira* or *ṛta* (preface, pp. 7-10). In many of his suggestions and arguments, there is a tinge of caution though assertion is a noted feature.

As is very well known, there are two approaches to the decipherment of the Indus seals: (i) that the script is Dravidian (Tamil); and (ii) that it is early Sanskrit, reflecting the ideas from the *Ṛgveda* and the *Brāhmaṇa* texts. In the first we have scholars like Iravathan Mahadevan and Asko Parpola, while in the latter T.R. Ramachandra, Madho Swarup Vats and R.S. Rao. Further information on the side of various views could be found in Gregory L. Possehl (Ed.) *Harappan Civilization-A Contemporary Perspective* (New Delhi,1982; our author does not seem to have reached this book, though he refers to another book by Possehl). The author admits that he is not an expert in Sanskrit, but that he studied this language for the purpose of reading philosophical and poetical works. He also states that he studied the Sumerian, Akkadian, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Arabian (Arabic), Hindi, Bengali and Tamil languages. With all this personal equipment he says, "On account of their pictographic value, many signs of the Indus script can be understood by an illiterate if he is conversant with the tradition of the Vedic seers" (p.10) . On the earlier page, he also states that, "As the Indus script is based on a great deal of intuition, the same quality is required for reading it" (p.9), thus suggesting an edge he has over other scholars who studied the Indus script methodically and painstakingly. It is like Aurobindo interpreting the *Ṛgveda;* and one is reminded of David Frawley (who, like our author who has taken the name Ushanas, has also the *Hindu* name Vāmadeva). This is no place to go deep into the views of Frawley (who, incidentally, met me in Mumbai on some occasions). Apart from the erudition and convictions of a writer, one would naturally be interested in his proposed approach and the convincing qualities of his presentation. For this, in the present context, it is not intuition but the author's ability to establish a coherent relationship between the Indus seals and the *Ṛgveda*, or the details from the post-Ṛgvedic texts, matters.

Though it is not correct to say that the author's approach is subjective, one feels that, somehow, the Indus seals have to be related to the Vedic context. This becomes clear with some of his arguments. For example, he rightly refutes the opinion that the Vedic people did not know the cities, and says that hymns of the high standard in the *Ṛgveda* could not have been composed by village-priests (p.15) . But his efforts and argument to prove that writing was known in the Ṛgvedic times is interesting. As against Bühler and Pāṇini (III. 2.21 as he mentions it rightly), who pointed out the words *lipi* and *lipikāra* he says that several

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words denoting 'to write' and 'writer' are found in the *Ṛgveda* itself. One such is *ṛbhu,* according to him. His contention is that such words have not been recorded by the dictionaries, as having the meaning of 'writing' or 'writer', as they did not know them. To show that the word *ṛbhu* has the meaning 'writer' he goes to the Greek root *'rhaptein'* and its derivatives *'rhapsody'* and *orpheus* (the single quotation marks are mine). He, obviously, sees a similarity between *ṛbh°* (in *ṛbhu*) and the Greek *rhap°*. Conscious of this effort at etymology not being able to answer his desire to see 'writing' in the word *ṛbhu*, he takes a different stride. Actually, as all know, orpheus was a singer; and in later times a philosophic school on his name (the orphic) came to be established. Even the words *rhapsody 'rhaptein'* (which is a root) are associated with singing (not writing; cf. Greek *rhaps-oidia,* 'epic ' recited at one sitting; and *oide*, 'a song'). The root *'rhaptein'* means "to sew" and 'rhapsody' has the sense of " a well-knit song". There is no meaning of "writing" here. In the case of *ṛbhu,* he sees the root *rabh* and takes it as *grabh* (in Sanskrit, as he says). In it he sees the affinity of the Greek *'graphein'* which, according to him, has the sense of writing. Though the root *grabh* has no sense of "writing" in the *Ṛgveda* (and he candidly accepts this difficulty), according to him, there is another root in the *Ṛgveda, gāh,* "to dive." He, now, asserts that *gāh,* " to dive" has to be taken in the sense of "diving the pencil in the clay". So, we have to learn afresh that *ṛbhu* is from *grabh(u)* , suitably changed to the meaning of *gāh* (pencil in hand ready to dive deep in the soft clay). He sees in *ṛbhu* also the root *ri*, " to let flow" (as he comments), and explains that this 'flow' is " the line of writing" (p. 16). He takes the root *ṛ* as being related to the word *ṛg* (it should be really *ṛc/ṛk*), "verse" and also to *ṛṣi* ,"seer" and makes us believe that "the seers were also writers" (p. 16) . Such 'fresh' observations are difficult to accept.

The interpretation of Indus signs(or the sign), short and long in succession, with the complete verses in the *Ṛgveda,* assuming that a single sign has to be read as a symbol for a whole expression (through intuition and)with superfluous comparison, is more confusing than assuring. Take , for example the so-called 'cup ' sign 𐍈, which Iravathan Mahadevan has understood as a 'jar-sign' (and rightly so). In this sign our author sees the cup that was made into four by the *Ṛbhus* (three brothers), and that this 'cup' signifies the original language; the quality of the ' cup' being fourfold, according to him, is to be seen in the four aspects of the language (p. 17). What happens in all such cases (and they are strewn throughout the book) is that the author presses the Ṛgvedic verses into such Indus seals. This is even more disappointing than the archaeologists who read simply objects into these signs. However, even in their case the exact knowledge of the Vedic rituals being doubtful, unconvincing observations are the result. In the case of the 'cup'sign, or the 'Jar' sign, I. Mahadevan's suggestion that it developed into the symbol of the womb is welcome (Possehl, *op. cit.* p. 313). He further informs that many perforated pottery jars were found

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from the Harappan sites (Ib.) and they might be the same as ritual jars mentioned in the *Śatapatha* Br. (XII. 7.2.13), and were called *sata,* which were of the *mleccha* origin. The point is, that the *sata* (सत) was not a pottery jar; it was made of bamboo-splittings (Śat. Br., *loc. cit*), What is right is, it is the *Kumbhī* (jar) that is perforated and has a hundred holes (*śatātṛṇṇā kumbhī bhavati'* for *Sata* see also the earlier text *Vājasaneyi-saṁhitā* 19.27 and Mahīdhara/Uvaṭa on it, *satam vaitasam bhavati*). According to our author, E. Richter-Ushanas, the composite sign, 'cup' with two symmetrical curved lines (𒄀𒄀 ; p.32) indicates streams of soma; a particular sign has to be read as *avikā*, and that the explanation is to be seen in a whole (famous verse) in the *Ṛgveda* (I. 126, 7; p. 32). A particular sign has to be read as *viś,* which (according to him) is abode in the Veda (which Veda? He does not say!); and that this has to be read with the *Ṛgveda* verse (I.22.17) where the three strides of Viṣṇu are mentioned (p.35). Apart from whether the sign should be associated with the whole verse in the *Ṛgveda,* the point is that in the 'Veda' *viś* does not mean an abode. The word indicates 'man', 'people' etc. A seal from Channu Daro, depicting a bull standing over a prostrate woman is said to represent the Horse-sacrifice, the difference between the bull and the horse to be forgotten on the authority of H. Mode (p. 114). In this case our author gives the whole story of the Horse-sacrifice performed by Daśaratha (from *Rāmāyaṇa,* pp.111-114). From a short inscription of about 8-18 signs, he concludes that the whole (important) account from the *Ṛgveda* (I. 61. 5-8) is to be understood. The same method is followed in the treatment of the famous hymn involving Purūravas and Urvaśī (pp. 125-140), from some short inscriptions.

E. Richter-Ushanas proposes that the Indus seals are influenced by the Sumerian alphabet. He says, that the 'fish' sign in the Indus seals could have a phonetic value of the word for 'fish' in the Sumerian language, which is *ḫa* or *ku*; also that *ḫa* or *ku* is identical to the Sanskrit root for *Kavi* (p. 17; which is acceptable). But, whether the 'fish' sign really indicates *Kavi* would require some deep thought. He points out that the Indus seals are mentioned on Akkadian lists as imports from Meluḫḫa. He connects the word 'meluḫḫa' with *mleccha* which occurs in the Brāhmaṇa texts, and proposes that these *mleccha*-s were people from the Indus valley. In this connection he refers to the famous myth of the Mind and *Vāk* (Speech), from the *Śatapatha Br.* (III. 2.1 23-24; however, the whole myth has to be considered, which is Ib. 19-24). The myth tells us that *Vāk* (speech) was with the *Asuras.* The gods won her. From this, he concludes that the language of the *mleccha*-s and gods spoke a more sophisticated aspect of the language (p.20). For arriving at this conclusion, it would have been sufficient to note that the *Asuras* and the gods are often (and even in this context) said to be "both, the sons of Prajāpati". But, as the text introduces the myth, a flat meaning cannot be seen in it. There is also another myth which involves the *Gandharvas* in the same context. Here, the *Gandharvas* are said to have

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Speech *(vāk)* from the gods in exchange for the Soma they possessed (Ib. III. 2.4.3-6). They recited to her the Veda (Ib)., while the gods allured her with music (Ib.). From this it could not be gathered that the *Asura* (*mleccha,* the Indus people, as the author suggests) were the knowers of the Veda and the gods *(Aryans)* were not. Likewise, the author's contention is that the people of the Indus valley knew a language that was Gandharvic. As is well known to scholars who are conversant with the development, and use of myths in later period, the implication of myths is hardly (even never) in their face-narration. In the present case, a difference is clearly seen between the *Asuras* and the *Gandharvas.* The former do not know the Vedic people's speech. The latter know it. This is the reason why the *Gandharva*-lore of music came to be associated with the Vedic sacrificial ritual in the form of the various *sāman-s.* The suggestion is that both the gods and the *Gandharvas* knew the Veda and also the lore of music. In the same context, when it is said that the *Asuras* could speak only such words as *he 'lavaḥ* (after Speech was won over by the gods) is indicative of their inherent inability to speak the language of the gods (i.e. of the Vedic people, by suggestive symbolism). Was Speech really with the *Asuras* and not with the gods? No. The pattern of mythical narrations in the Veda (and in a number of primeval people) is to present two opposites, and to welcome and stress one of them. The welcome opposite has always to strive hard, through force or guile, to outwit the undesirable opposite. Schemically, everything is always controlled by the undesirable opposite. The pattern is of complementary rivalry. When Vṛtra is said to have kept under control all waters, it does not necessarily mean that he was an *Asura* king who did not release waters for the Aryans. In the same way, when it is said that the whole sacrifice, and every thing was in his body, one does not take it as a detail of fact. In the myth on hand, the meaning is that (like other things) even Speech was in the custody of the *Asuras*, the side-joke in the latter part being that women are to be won over by frivolous things. And *vāk* is a woman. The polarity continues as the Mind being with the gods and Speech with the *Asuras;* then *Soma* being with the *Gandharvas,* Speech being with the gods ; to be won back through music when she was bartered for *Soma.* Thus, both *Soma* and Speech are ultimately with the gods.

At many places awkward interpretation is noticed in the book under review. For example, a seal is read as *Madhūkṣā (madhu + ukṣā),* "sweet bull" . This is a very well known figure. Our author sees here "the body of a bull and the head of a goat *or a horse"* (italics mine). Now, first, one has to decide whether the second head is that of a goat or a horse, if one has to interpret it as any beast in the *Ṛgveda,* precisely. About the author's interpretation here, there happens to be a serious problem. His words are, "If we read *Madhūkṣā* as *madhu-ukṣa* (as he divides it), a sweet bull, it can be referred to the bull in the motif and to the unicorn. It has the body of a bull and the head of goat or a horse. The lines on its neck look like the manes of a horse and the design on its chest is

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reminiscent of the cloth that horses usually wear. In the *Ṛgveda* it is rendered as a horse, deer or a bull, especially as the bull of Soma. In ṚV. IV. 58.3 this bull is said to have four horns etc. (p. 27). Obviously he thinks the ṚV. IV. 58. 3 bull as the unicorn, also that the unicorn is called horse, deer or bull. This is not corroborated from the *Ṛgveda.* Even at IV. 58. 3, the creature is specifically said to be *vṛṣabha* and to accept the author's suggestion, more precise proof is wanting. And for this statement of his he does not give any references. The word *eka-śṛṅga* (to suit the concept of the unicorn) does not occur in the *Ṛgveda.* Likewise, there is no trace of *madhūkṣā* in the *Ṛgveda.* Even Soma, the so-called (by our author) *madhūkṣā* , is said to have two horns *(śṛṅge)* and is seen as the bull-----regular (IX 5.2;70.7) not a unicorn or a mixed beast. The horns *(Śṛṅgāṇi)* of sacrificial horse are not his "horns' but the hair on the mane, standing erect as he is imagined as galloping (I. 163.11). This makes clear that there is no evidence in the *Ṛgveda* to answer the description of the unicorn or the mixed beast from the Indus seals. The hunt for evidence of this type in the *Ṛgveda* on the part of Egbert Richter-Ushanas seems to be unrewarding from even I.32. 12, where he thinks that, "for the poet, Indra had the features of a bull and a horse" (p. 22). It is clear he misunderstands the exact text (or,does he twist it to suit his interpretation ?). The text has *sṛke yat tvā pratyahan deva ekaḥ* (b). Here, the *deva* is understood as being not Tvaṣṭṛ (as Sāyaṇa does) but Vṛtra (and, we may add, sarcastically) by Geldner and Prof. Velankar *(Der Rigveda,* HOS, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and *Ṛksūktaśatī,* Bharatiya Vidya Bhavana, Bombay, 1972). Our author does the same but he understands the line as "when he (Indra) was caught by Vṛtra at his horn"(p.22) . It will be seen that he renders the word *sṛka* as the horn, thus seeing the bull (in Indra) with one horn (unicorn). The fact is that the word *sṛka* is understood as the bolt (which is so famous with Indra) by Sāyaṇa and earlier by Yāska whom the former refers to Prof. Velankar follows this rendering, while Geldner renders the word as 'zacke' (which will mean point, crest, or top). At the only other place where the word occurs (X. 180.3) we have the expression *sṛkam pavim* (Accusative) indicating that *sṛka* is the sharp bolt of Indra. This will show that the Indus unicorn is out of question here. The earlier half of the line(a) has Indra described as becoming an *aśvyaḥ vāraḥ* i.e. literally , 'a hair'. So, for the author this 'hair' (as he rightly translates the word *vāraḥ*) is sufficient to lead to think that a horse is meant by the poet ! And, further, that here " Indra is representative of this composite animal and belongs to the Indus civilization as well as to the Vedic" (p.22). Actually *vāra* has two meanings; (i) hair (*vāla=bāla* in modern Indian languages) and (ii) tail (Sanskrit; also Tamil), the etymological meaning being 'that which wards off; because, it is with the tail that the beasts ward off flies and insects. The *aśvyaḥ vāraḥ* is the tail of the horse; because, unlike that of other animals, it has long profuse hairs. The meaning 'tail' is clear in the description of Agni who (due to his flames) is like a horse with a tail (I. 27. 1 *aśvam na vāravantam*). So, the one hair imagery has to be replaced by the tail. It is not improbable,

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that the long horse hairs, might have been collected together and fixed into a handle to ward off flies, as is the case with the *cāmara* (from the cow called *camarī*) in later times. In the expression we are considering , Indra acts like the *aśvyaḥ vāraḥ* (the horse-tail, or the horse-hair warder) to easily ward off the pseudo 'god' Vṛtra. He does not actually become the horse's one hair, much less the horse. The author says, that the Vedic name of cannabis, *muñjā* -grass is preserved in the name Mohen-jo-Daro (p.23). It is very unlikely, to say the least. The *muñjā* grass preserved in the Veda (the author does not give reference but see I. 191.3; 161. 8; *Atharvaveda* I. 2.4 and so on) is not cannabis as he thinks. He is confusing the habitat of Soma (Mūjavat), which is called *maujavata* with the *muñjā*-grass, which is reed-stalk and was used for preparing matted seats from. For the author the *sādhya*-s (at X. 90.16) in the famous hymn to Puruṣa "can be related to the Indus river called Sindhu (with the root *sidh*) in the Veda. It seems likely that they were identical to the godlike beings who were the founders of the Indus civilization" (p. 24). The brackets in the quotation are the author's. These etymologies are not acceptable. Sindhu is from the root *sidh* with the sense "to go" (Monier Williams), while *sādhyāḥ* shows the root *sādh*. The word has hardly any thing to do with the river Sindhu.

Having said what has been said above about book, it has to be granted that the effort is very new, as it tries to study the various seals dividing them in different categories. The author's multisourced study is commendable, though his effort to relate the Indus seals to the text of the *Ṛgveda* can hardly be taken as successful. The task is hard but, book could prove to impel the efforts of other scholars who, like him, have grounding in Sanskrit, but work hard without speaking of intuition . A word about the type used for printing the book is necessary. It is very small. In fact, even with Motilal Banarsidass, the use of such a type is a bit out of the way. It is a strain to read such new information in such a type.

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Āyurveda and Pañcakarma (the science of Healing and Rejuvenation) by Shri Sunil V. Joshi, M.D. (Ayu.), Pub. by Motilal Banarsidass Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, 1998, pp.309, Price-Rs. 250.

The book *Āyurveda* and *Pañcakarma* is excellent for the knowledge of *Āyurveda*. *Pañcakarma* is the area, in which comprehensive system of *Āyurveda* is designed. This system is very nice system to purify the whole body of a man. Despite wonderful modern machinery , our society is suffering from various diseases, like cancer

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& heart attack. Man is gifted good health by god. We have to maintain it, taking herbs, diet and cleansing with balance.

The author has divided the book in two sections. Section I. The foundations of *Āyurveda* and the Section II. Ayurvedic treatment of diseases. First section i.e. the foundations of *Āyurveda* has been divided into six chapters, one is *Āyu:* The four aspects of life, soul, mind, senses and body. Chapter II is *Pañcamahābhūtas:* the five element theory. Chapter III is for *doṣas, dhātu* and *malas:* the three components of human body. Chapter IV is very important chapter on digestion. *Prakṛti* is the fifth chapter and the last chapter is Three pillars of *āyu*, i.e. *Āhāra, Vihāra* and *Auṣadhi.* The Section II is also of six chapters, in which disease process, *pañcakarma, pūrvakarma* for *pañcakarma, pañcakarma's* five main procedures, post-treatment and self-care at home have been described systematically.

The Āyurveda addresses each and every individual separately through proper diet, life style, cleansing programme of *pañcakarma* etc. in very proper way and the author Dr. Sunil Joshi has fully described the purpose of *Āyurveda* according to our Indian scriptures. The *Āyurveda* is the only science which removes the *doṣas* and makes man healthy with natural sources. Dr. Joshi has become successful to convey the message of *Āyurveda* through the book.

This book is a valuable resource to the students of *Āyurveda* and I appreciate Dr. Sunil Joshi's attempt for this valuable work of *Āyurveda.*

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Āyurveda & Life Impressions Body Work" by Prof. Donald Van Howten, Pub, by Motilal Banarsidass, New Delhi, First Edition, Price-Rs. 250.

This book is a wonderful book which well reflects on the benefits of this fine Āyurvedic system. The author has given simple techniques of Ayurvedic principles. This book deals with the ancient Vedic healing system in which the sages *Caraka* and *Suśruta* have described fine ideas of making body, mind, senses and soul unique.

I have studied the whole book of *Āyurveda & Life Impressions Body Work* carefully. This book is a wonderful book in which *karma's* role in health and healing is recognized.

Prof. Van Howten is an associate instructor at the Ayurvedic Institute, Albuqnerque, New Maxico and is the director and founder of the Life Impressions Institute in Santa Fe,

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New Maxico. This way he is a great teacher and the director of *Āyurveda* . So he has described all his experiences of *Āyurveda* system in this book clearly. The author has adopted practical approach in this book and it would be unique among the books of *Āyurveda.*

Some topics like the three *doṣas:* the constitutional types, *vāta, pitta* and *kapha,* treatments and resources and elemental treatments are the excellent to describe the life impressions of *Āyurveda.*

The book deserves to be recommended to the students of *Āyurveda.*

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Āyurveda Secrets of Healing by Maya Tiwari, Pub. by Motilal Banarsidass, New Delhi, First Edition, 1998 , pp. xvi + 540, Price-Rs. 395.

The book is completely dedicated to spiritual *sādhanā* & holistic studies in Oriental healing science of *Āyurveda.* This book is dedicated to her *guru* Swami Shri Dayananda Saraswati, who is one of the India's few spiritual masters of traditional teaching of *Vedānta* and Sanskrit.

Brahmacāriṇī Maya Tiwari reflects Holistic *sādhanās* through this Ayurvedic book and it is a result of her scriptural knowledge of *Āyurveda.* This is a wonderful work of Br. Maya Tiwari and the direct result of her experiences of traditional studies of *Āyurveda.*

She has given description of all the processes of healing, which are adaptable to modern western culture and also for the blind followers of western culture in India. It is exhaustive guide for the health through *pañcakarma* i.e. five cleansing therapy of *Āyurveda: vamana, virecana, basti, nasya & rakta-mokṣaṇam.*

The author has described secrets of healing in *Āyurveda* making six sections. In each & every section, she has fully described nector of *Āyurveda* with quotations of our ancient Ayurvedic sages like Maharṣi Carakācārya, Suśrutācārya & Vāgbhaṭta etc. The Cosmic sound is reflected in this book in such a way that it attracts our minds to study this holy book of *Āyurveda.*

This work deserves admiration & should be read by the scholars of *Āyurveda.*

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Yajñapārśva-A Pariśiṣṭa belonging to the Śukla Yajurveda ascribed to Kātyāyana, critically edited and translated with notes by C.G. Kashikar, published by Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune, 1998, pp. xviii + 80, Price: Not mentioned.

The *Pariśiṣṭas* of the different Vedic Recensions is a less known and neglected field. Prof. Dr. C.G. Kashikar, a veteran scholar delivered lectures on "A Survery of the *Śukla Yajurveda Pariśiṣṭas*" under Pandit Shri Padashastri Deodhar Memorial Lecture Series (fourth series in 1993). The lectures were published in a book form in 1994 by Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. (The book was reviewed by me in the Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 47, Nos. 1-2, pp. 157-158). In that book on p. 33, in connection with the unpublished *Pariśiṣṭa* namely - *Yajñapārśva,* he wrote about a critical edition of the same, prepared by him. The same is now being presented to the world of scholars through this small booklet of about 80 pages. This is, in other words, the critical edition of the *Yajñapārśva*-one of the *Pariśiṣṭas* ascribed to Kātyāyana, which belongs to the *Śukla Yajurveda,* to which recension fortunately the present reviewer also belongs. The critical edition is based upon six manuscripts (1) one from the Oriental Institute, Baroda, (2) two Mss. from the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, (3) Two Mss. from Bharata Itihas Samshodhak Mandal, Pune & (4) One Ms. from Gurumaharaja collection in Vaidik Samshodhak Mandal, Pune. *"Pārśva"* means "a side", *Yajñapārśva* means "a treatise giving information about the sides of the sacrifice-both Vedic and domestic, that is to say about the current ritualistic practices", thus the author explains the title of the book.

In the brief Introduction (pp. V to XIV), the editor has dealt with several aspects like description of these Mss. , their inter-relationship , contents, language, comparison of two parts, authorship, authorities quoted, technical terms used, peculiarities, probable date, quotations from the *Yajñapārśva* found in digest & commentary, the place of the *Yajñapārśva* etc.

After the table of contents *(Anukramaṇikā)* of the two *Pariśiṣṭas,* the text of both *Pariśiṣṭas* is presented in two parts, containing 96 and 228 verses respectively along with variant readings & the appropriate English translation (both noted below each verse). At the end, the *Devanāgarī* alphabetical Index to the verses of both the *pariśiṣṭas* is presented under *"Kārikāsūci"*.

The book , though small one, reflects upon the scholarship, critical acumen & researchful outlook of this great indologist in the field. The young researchers should get encouragement from the suggestive statements made by him for future projects. We congratulate the author and the publisher-the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute for their scholarly publication.

Oriental Institute, Vadodara

M. L. Wadekar

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प्रतिध्वनिः (Pratidhvaniḥ) by Dr. Ravindra Panda, Pub.by Utkal Sahitya Samaj,Prayag, 1996, pp. xiv + 72, Price-Rs. 50/-

This poem-collection contains 87 poems of Modern Sanskrit . It appears to be romantic in nature at the initial stage, but the poems also give philosophical ideas laid behind them. The poet's style is modern and it is full of symbols, images and new thoughts. The poems are written in simple but effective style.

Most of the poems are written on natural elements such as *Vanavallī* (p. 14), *Astagāmī sūryaḥ (astaṁ gāmī ?)* (p. 15), *Dināvasāne* (p. 16), *Nagnapādapaḥ* (p. 18), *Śuṣkā sarasī* (p. 19) etc. The poet has chosen the style which has been selected by Dr. Keshab Chandra Dash and Dr. Harshdev Madhav and it is free from the old tradition. All the poems display modern sense of beauty following the rules of Sanskrit language.

The poet himself says about the subject-matter of this collection:-

' कृतेः प्रमुखो विषयो ध्वनिप्रतिध्वन्योस्तादात्म्यप्रतिपादनम् ' प्रतिध्वनिरूपजीवस्य ध्वनिरूपब्रह्मण ऐक्यम् । यो ध्वनिः स एव प्रतिध्वनिः । भेदो भावनायाम् । (आमुखम्). He successfully gives his philosophical thoughts in a simple figure of speech.

अहं ते शारदी ज्योत्स्ना
त्वं मम शीतेन्दुः ।
* * *
त्वं मधुमासः
अहं तव मधु ।
* * *
अहं पादपः
त्वं मम बनी ।
* * *
त्वं मधुरा प्रकृतिः
अहं रमणीयदृश्यविशेषः । (p.4)

(There are misprints in the particular letter *'va'*. *'Ba'* is printed instead of *'va'*. It can be because of the poet's 'Utkal' pronunciation !)

Sometimes he asks questions like a Philosopher-

किं निर्वाणं ? का विज्ञानसन्ततिः ?

कथं प्रभिद्यते हृदयग्रन्थिः । (p. 5)

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There are so many lines, images, symbols and figures of speech which remind us of ancient Sanskrit literature and the poet's good reading of it. We can hear the echo of old rich treasure. For example-

निन्दन्तु नीतिनिपुणाः
कुर्वन्तु वा स्तवान् । (p. 9)
ऊर्ध्वमूलमधःशाखोऽहम्
विचित्रतरुः । (p. 13)

Sometimes the poems look too small and they do not contain deep meanings. The thoughts remain on the surface of the words. I think the poet will be more careful about this matter.

I appreciate the poetic beauty of this collection and welcome the poet with my best wishes. May creative writing lead the poet ahead and ahead.

H.K. Arts College,
Gujarat University, Ahmedabad **Harshdev Madhav**

Jaina System of Education by Devendra Chandra Dasgupta, Ed. by Prof. Satya Ranjan Banerjee, Lala Sundarlal Jain Research Series, Vol. XII, Pub. by Motilal Banarsidass Pub. Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, First Printed, 1979, Reprinted, 1999, pp. 134, Price: Rs. 200/-

The book discusses the Jaina contribution to education which is great, significant and important. The book is thought-provoking and an exhaustive treatise on the Jaina system of Education. The book is foreworded by Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, followed by an introductory note on Jainism by Dr. Satya Ranjan Banerjee. The author has done ample justice to the theme and has given all the technical details on Jaina Educational system, however, the chapters relating to academic degrees given in Jaina Education and female education during Jainism are specially more interesting.

It is a fact that the system of education now in vogue in India is defective in many respects like the want of religious and moral education, want of job-markets, far from the realities of life etc. It is, yet the true-type of education, its methods and applications, based on its indigenous culture and traditions etc., are hardly discussed from the historical perspective right from Vedic age, post-Vedic, Buddhistic and the Jainism down to the ancient universities of India-Nalanda, Takshashila etc., but the author in this book represents a novel of discovery. Alongwith the Jaina system of Education, the book also deals exhaustively with the Brahmanical, the secular (Art-School) and the vocational education.

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The period travelled in this book extends from the time of Ṛṣabha to the 11th Century A.D. and many authorities who flourished during the mentioned time-limit and in subsequent ages have been quoted by the author.

The book is in 10 lectures. The first lecture deals with the brief review of the five educational institution-viz. the family, the church, the school, the state and the industry.

Lecture II discusses about the Brahmanic, Vedic schools, Arts schools, *curricula* and admission criteria etc. Lecture III and IV narrate the importance of the Jaina monasteries, their aims, department of state education and training agencies, their administration, curricula, military subject etc. The author has given a statistical table prepared from *Kalpasūtra* regarding the diffusion of monastic education in India alongwith their achievement and accomplishments.

Education of women, their social position, lay and ecclesiastic distribution of numerics alongwith statistical data, women's total personality development from the psychological point of view, the training agencies and co-education system etc., are discussed thoroughly in lectures V & VI.

The VII lecture is on the education of princes, right from their pre-natal stage, gymnasiums, physical education alongwith the 72 arts which they need to imbibe in their educational progress.

VIII Lecture is devoted to the vocational education, training agencies, guilds & merchants, association, concept of free and compulsory vocational training and pupils' proper placement in the society, while lecture IX summarises a survey of the religious activities of Jainas, tours of Ṛṣabha and Mahāvīra contributions to philosophy, religion, art and literature, history , poetics and politics in general in almost encyclopaedic manner. The concluding X lecture is a brief resume of the nine lectures.

One can, thus say, any sphere of Indian history will be incomplete if the contributions of Jainas are not taken into consideration. Undoubtedly, the Jainas have penetrated and moulded the intellectual and moral aspects of human thoughts and ideas for the betterment of human understanding.

The book is worthy to be read and circulated among the scholars for the fresh interpretations of Jainism. It is worthy to be made as a personal property by having it in one's personal library.

Faculty of Education & Psychology,
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Nilambar P. Deota

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Brahmarshi Daivarata's Chando Darshana : A Critical Study, edited by Dr. G.N. Bhat, Pub. by Jayashree Prakashana, Mangalore (Karnatak State)- 575 003, 2001, pp. xii + 248, Price: Rs. 200/-

The book under review is a collection of research papers on the late Brahmarṣi Daivarāta and his work *Chandodarśana.* In editorial notes, Dr. G.N. Bhat mentions that Daivarāta was not only a seer of *mantras* but an interpreter of few Vedic *mantras* and some *mantras* of *Chandodarśana* also. It is a fact that Vedic seers were the only seers of the *mantras* and not interpreters. However, Daivarāta is the seer who was both the seer and the interpreter of the Vedic *mantras.*

The book is divided into three parts. Part 1: There are four research papers including Keynote Address about Brahmarṣi Daivarāta Śarmā.

Prof. K.T. Pandurangi gives detailed information regarding Brahmarṣi Daivarāta. He notes that as a seer he saw hymns in a mystic trance when he was just 25 years of age. He interpreted the hymns and practised *Yoga.* The hymns seen by Daivarāta are arranged into *Anuvākas* and *Sūktas.* This collection is known as *Chandodarśana.* The *Ṛṣi* of all these hymns is Visvāmitra Daivarāta. The *Chandodarśana* is a vision of Daivarāta *Ṛṣi.* The *Vedārthakalpalatā* and *Vāksudhā* are his works as a scholar and as a *yogin* respectively.

Dr. G.N. Bhat gives a brief life sketch of Brahmarṣi Daivarāta, about his birth date 4th Jan. 1892, place and family back- ground, his relation with saint Rāmadāsa Svāmī and Vāsudevānanda Sarasvatī-Ṭembe Svāmī. He gives chronology of the main events of Maharṣi Daivarāta's life also (p. 33).

In the article "The Vedic seer of simple things" Dr. Shanta Diwaker writes about the meeting of Shri Daivarāta with Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Gandhiji, Shri Raman Maharshi and with Sāibābā at Shirdi.

Daivarāta's *Chandodarśana* and concept of *Apauruṣeyatva* has made us aware of the significance of the peerless Vedic tradition, which is the most noteworthy and unique feature of our Indian culture and civilization.

The second part of this book consists of 14 research papers about Vedic studies & the *Chandodarśana*-An Evaluation. It is a collection of articles which focus on Vedic studies and a Critical study of *Chandodarśana*, Sarasvatī, Brahmaṇaspati, Indra, Ātman, Puruṣa etc. Dr. S.A. Dange's article on "The Relevance of Vedic Studies in the Modern World", Dr. V.N. Jha's about "Linguistic Analysis of the *Padapāṭha* of the *Chandodarśana*" & Shri D.Y. Katre's paper on "Vedic Studies: A Revival", are particularly noteworthy.

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Part III is Appendices. It is mainly about Brahmarṣi Daivarāta. The horoscope of Brahmarṣi is given on the page no. 234.-*Daivarātasya Jātakam.* The important aspect of this book is that a part of the Autobiography of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first president of India is published in this part.

The then Vice-Chancellor Shri K.M. Munshi of Bhavan's, Bombay, exclaimed that "Thank God, Bhārata Mātā has not yet gone barren." The *mantras* alongwith the commentary titled *Chandodarśana* have now been published with English translations.

The most outstanding feature of this edition is that it focuses on the Vedic contribution of Brahmarṣi Daivarāta to the Modern world. The author deserves our hearty congratulations for providing such an important book with a beautiful get-up and nice printing.

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Oriental Institute, Vadodara **Usha Brahmachari**

Bhakti Rasa-A Debate by Dr. Mahesh Adkoli, Samshodhana Series 12 of Sanskrit Sodha Samsthan, Sirsi, Anand Publications, Muroor, 2000, pp. X + 35, Price-Rs. 40.

Dr. Mahesh Adkoli's *Bhakti Rasa: A debate* is a monograph only of 35 pages. As he says in the preface, it is an enlarged version of his paper entitled *'Bhakti as a Rasa'* presented in the National Seminar held at Sirsi (Karnatak) in Dec., 1998. In this work, the author has taken up an interesting issue-whether *bhakti* should be given the status of *rasa* and should it be included in the list of *rasas* given by the ancient Indian Poeticians. Of course, the issue is complicated and it undoubtedly requires a debate. As he has entered into the debate, the title given to his work is justifiable. Dr Adkoli deals with the topic very systematically. He discusses the concept of *rasa* from the view point of poeticians with its varieties, *sthāyibhāvas* and *vyabhicāribhāvas* etc. He briefly presents the view-points of ancient aestheticians like Bharata, Śaṅkuka, Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa, Bhaṭṭanāyaka, Abhinavagupta and others who have critically dealt with the problem of *Rasa*. In this connection Daṇḍin's view is noteworthy. He says that *prīti*, which is the *sthāyibhāva* of *preyas*, is identical with *bhakti*, and *preyas* is very closely connected with *Śṛṅgāra*. Still, Daṇḍin keeps *bhakti* outside the purview of his *Rasa*-scheme. Abhinavagupta includes *bhakti* in *Śāntarasa*. In Mammaṭa's opinion *bhakti* is one of the *vyabhicāribhāvas*. He categorises it under *bhāva*. Hemacandra and Appaya Dīkṣita also hold the same view. Jagannātha observes that *bhakti* is *rati* or love towards god and it cannot cross the level of *bhāva*. Dr. Adkoli observes that the rigid adherence to this tradition and dismissal of *bhakti* as a *rasa* is not a welcome attitude.

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Dr. Adkoli presents the arguments of the *Bhakti-rasavādins* like Vopadeva, who had initiated the debate on *bhakti* as *rasa*. He elaborately discusses the views of Ujjvalanīlamaṇikāra and other Vaiṣṇava poeticians too. Dr. Adkoli's remark that these poeticians hardly care for the process of the delineation of *Bhakti-rasa* and just advocate *bhakti* as *rasa*-is thought provoking.

The discussion about Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's idea of *bhakti* is very interestingly dealt with. He defines *bhakti* from the view of Advaitic background. It is *bhagavadākārarūpa*, a transcendental condition in which *bhakta* (devotee), *bhajya* (object of devotion) and *bhajana* (devotion) all culminate in one unique state, which exactly corresponds to *rasānubhūti* of the Advaitism.

The author rightly opines that *bhakti* is not an innate element in human being but it is cultivated in man through *bhajana*, *kīrtana*, *śravaṇa* etc. The opinion of Dr. Krishnamoorthy that 'basic sentiments alone were counted as providing scope for *rasa*' also strengthens the view of Dr. Adkoli. The followers of *bhakti* -movement do not discuss *bhakti-rasa* from the view points of connoisseurs.

It gives me pleasure to say that the work is a product of genuine research with full seriousness. Dr. Adkoli has attempted in analysing and interpreting the relevant passages from the works of ancient rhetoricians and modern authorities. The author has worked hard in preparing this small but important work which has delineated some of the grave aspects of *bhakti* -concept. The work will be useful to the students and scholars who are interested in studying the problem of *rasa*, an aesthetic rapture which has been accepted as the soul of poetry.

Oriental Institute, Vadodara

Sweta Prajapati

A Hundred Devotional Songs of Tagore: Translated by Mohit Chakrabarty, Published by Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited, Delhi, First Edition, 1999, pp. 1-104, Price : Rs.150.00

The book under review is an English translation of Bengali devotional songs composed by famous poet Rabindranath Thakur (Tagore). The poet Rabindranath has contributed almost five thousand songs and poems to Bengali literature out of which the translator has chosen one hundred songs. The original songs are given first in transliterated form in Roman alphabet followed by English translation.

The *Kaviguru* Rabindranath Thakur (1861-1941A.D.) was a Brāhma (one who believes in Brahma only) by religion. This religion is an offshoot of Hinduism that developed

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a monotheistic idea based on the philosophy of the Upaniṣads and brought a social renaissance in the eighteenth century. Rabindranath, therefore, consciously and unconsciously was highly influenced by the Upaniṣads. There are some devotional songs of Tagore which he has termed as *brahmasaṅgīta* (songs dedicated to Brahma) (*vide* song nos. 2,6 in the said book). But ultimately he found his true religion in love for mankind. The god he worshipped was in his words *jīvana-devatā* (the lord of the life). Tagore said, "the infinite became defined in humanity." These two things have immensely reflected in his thought and literature. He defines his creation as 'a spiritual work of art'. Dr. S Radhakrishnan defines *Kaviguru's* work precisely, "His philosophical views are caught up in his spiritual vision and held captive in his poetic creation". The said hundred songs are the outcome of this spiritual ecstasy.

Dr. Mohit Chakrabarty's portrayal of *viśvakavi* Rabindranath Thakur's spirituality and philosophy of life is really appreciable. He, not only translated poet's words but transmitted his thoughts and feelings to the readers. In a brief note on Tagore's devotional songs, while mentioning the poet's optimistic and catholic vision towards life and religion, Dr. Chakrabarty mentions that this faculty of the poet is still unexplored and unknown to the interested readers. This is the reason behind the selection of these particular songs of Tagore for translation by the translator so that the poet's variegated feelings -anguish and agony, joy and jollity in search of god can be brought in front of the appreciators. The translations are in verse form and are written in such a lucid expression that we must say that Dr. Chakrabarty has set a high standard of poetic excellence. He is to be congratulated for this presentation. The sources of the songs given in the beginning will be very useful to the poem lovers.The inclusion of a note on Bengali pronunciation like *ya=ja, śa, ṣa , sa = śa , ba, va= ba* etc. could have helped the readers to pronounce exactly the poet's original songs. Except some mistakes in diacritical marks the publication is quite good. The translator deserves hearty congratulations.

Oriental Institute, Vadodara **Saswati Sen**

Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha's Rasa-Gaṅgādhara (Part I) -The Stream of Bliss-by Shankaraji Jha, ; Published by Mithila Prakashan, Chandigarh; New revised Edition, 1998; pp. V+ 210; Price Rs. 400/- (Hardbound) and Rs. 350/- (Paperback).

The *Rasagaṅgādhara* of Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha is considered to be one of the most appropriate works on Indian Rhetorics by scholars. Written in *Navya-Nyāya (Avacchedakā-vacchinna)* style, it reflects the "intellectualism" prevailing at that time and as a result makes the work unaccessible to a common reader but enjoyable to a *Navya-Nyāya* student. The "Catechism" style (so says the author) of the poet Jagannātha has thoroughly discussed each and every point of the subject relating to the poetics.

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Dr. Shankarji Jha (written as Shankaraji Jha on the jacket of the book) has tried to bring out the essence of the *Rasagaṅgādhara* in his book which happens to be his thesis for D. Litt. degree. The book with a foreword by Dr. W.R. Rishi, is divided in nine parts of which last three numbers include conclusion, notes and references, a select bibliography. In the introduction, the author has given a list of noted critics of Indian Poetics-their period and works, different schools of *Dhvani*, about the *Rasagaṅgādhara* and its author. In other chapters the concept of Poetry, the concept of *Rasa*, the Poetic merits, the *Bhāvadhvani*, different types of *Dhvani* and *Alaṅkāras* are given. Though the author himself calls it "an exegetical translation " (the same mentioned in the foreword also), it seems to be a handbook on the *Rasagaṅgādhara*. Written in a narrative style, it may appeal to students/ general readers who want to know what is there in the *Rasagaṅgādhara*.

The author has tried to touch all the topics included in the *Rasagaṅgādhara* and in this process, leaves out many important parts or cuts them short. For example, only *"Śṛṅgāra-rasa"* among nine *rasas* has been mentioned (others are "overlooked due to the paucity of time and space" p. 131), only 11 *Alaṅkāras* out of Pt. Jagannātha's 70 have been mentioned and these too without their *Dhvani*. The author has "tried to present a glimpse of certain important *Alaṅkāras"* and just gave the list of 34 *Bhāvas* (without definitions and illustrations). The author mentions *Bhāvaśānti, Bhāvodaya, Bhāvasandhi* and *Bhāvaśabalatā* under one topic *"Bhāvasandhi"*, whereas Pt. Jagannātha discusses each and every one of them separately. The author seems to be in a great hurry to reach to the next topic as at 15 places in the book, he mentions of "not going in detail". Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa, the original commentator on the work, makes a guest appearance in the conclusion part.

The book can not be called a "translation" as it has explained only selected parts of the *Rasagaṅgādhara*. It is utter confusing for a reader as sometimes diacritical marks are used for quoting the text/ examples and sometimes *Devanāgarī* script. Sameway, sometimes abbreviation of a word is used and sometimes their full-forms. The numerous printing errors (spellings, use of fonts, page nos., reference nos.,) also hinder smooth reading.

One really wonders why the book has 'Part - I' tag with the title ! Nowhere in the book, the author has given a hint about the "Part II" and the book finishes with *Alaṅkāras* (everything in 190 pages !) like the *Rasagaṅgādhara's Dvitīya Ānana*. The book may prove costly for pockets as it may not last long due to its poor binding and printing.

However, we congratulate the author for taking this difficult and painstaking work and expect more authentic, wholesome and serious books from him in future.

Oriental Institute, Vadodara

Sharmila Chatterjee

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'A Study of Taittirīya Upaniṣad' by Dr. Meena Pathak, Published by Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, 3611/5, Narang Colongy, Trinagar, Delhi, 110035, 1999, pp. I to XVII + 219 Price- Rs. 400 /-

The book *'Study of Taittirīya Upaniṣad'* by Dr. Meena Pathak, studies the T.U. from every aspect from historical background to linguistic analysis and philosophical, comparative study. This attempt has brought many new and hidden aspects of this Upaniṣad to light.

The first chapter gives brief survey of Vedic literature, which systematically explains four Vedas, their recensions, connected Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads. The second chapter stands particularly important as it painstakingly unfolds the panorama of Upaniṣadic literature. It gives grass root information about Upaniṣads. Explaining the word *'Upaniṣad'*, chapter proceeds to discuss period of Upaniṣads, number, major and minor Upaniṣads. The Upaniṣads belonging to different Vedas, classification of different Vedas and classification of Upaniṣads as *Vaiṣṇava Upaniṣads, Yoga Upaniṣads, Śaiva-Upaniṣads, Śākta Upaniṣads* etc., is given. Alongwith this, the chronological order of Upaniṣads, the prose and the metrical Upaniṣads are given in detail. It definitely has heightened the research value of this book. It finally gives the exact place of the *Taittirīya-Upaniṣad* in the Mosaic of Vedic Literature.

The third chapter can be described as the core, which gives summary of the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* sectionwise. The summary is lengthy enough to understand the nature of the text and philosophical arguments.

Another feature interesting to the scholars, is the fourth chapter which gives sixty-one commentators of T.U. chronologically from Acyutakṛṣṇānandatīrtha to Vyāsatīrtha and whether they are published, and their publication date and place.

The most important chapter is the fifth chapter i.e. 'Philosophical thought in the T.U.' This chapter discusses about the definition of *Brahman* in terms of its essential nature as: *Satyaṁ Jñānaṁ Anantaṁ Brahma'* and as the source of creation; the method of discrimination between the self and the non-self through enquiry into five-fold sheaths and for the calculus of Bliss which points to *Brahman* as the Bliss *par excellence.* Problem of creation is discussed in detail under ' Cosmogony' . The famous bird analogy also is explained with proper illustration. Means of liberation are discussed under *Upāsanā.* Thus, the complete metaphysical study of T.U. in all regards is presented.

There are very few books, which have given thought about 'Social Structure' of the Upaniṣadic period. Dr. Meena Pathak has particularised socio-structural study of T.U. in comparison with other Upaniṣads. Especially, system of education, then the chapter 'Teachers and Priests' and the chapter 'T.U. and other Sciences'-all three in a way talk about 'education' aspect of the contemporary society and are complementary to each other. The scientific achievement of a society is an outcome of good education and good teachers are

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responsible for educational growth. These topics could have gone together. All these three have added to the research reference value of the book.

The tenth chapter, 'Comparative Study of the T.U. and the *Brahmasūtras'*, is far more important and useful for the students of Indian Philosophy, since, it assesses the different interpretations of T.U. passages quoted in the commentaries on *Brahmasūtras* by different *Ācāryas*. It gives interpretations by Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Vallabha, Madhva and Nimbārka. This book being study of one of the major Upaniṣads, the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*- from all possible aspects, makes the book unique in itself.

Except few typographical mistakes-which could have been avoided, it is a very good reference book for a scholar as well as a layperson. This research is based on original Sanskrit text and their comparison with other Upaniṣads. Author's thorough understanding of the Upaniṣadic thought has helped to clarify many ideas. This is a very good contribution to the reference on Upaniṣads. The book is equipped with word-index and exhaustive bibliography. It is well-printed and nicely produced. The Author and the publisher-both deserve high appreciation.

Dept. of Sanskrit, School of Languages ,
Gujarat University, Ahmedabad **Sunanda Shastri**

Alaṁkāradappaṇa: Edited by H.C. Bhayani, Published by L.D. Institute of Indology (L.D. Series: 120), Ahmedabad, 380 009, First Edition, April-1999, pp. 54, Price: not printed.

The *Alaṁkāradappaṇa* is a work on poetics in Prakrit. In the Introduction (pp. 1 to 6), the editor gives the details of the Manuscript Material. He states that the only known Manuscript of the *Alaṁkāradappaṇa* is in the Jesalmer Manuscript Collection (Ms.no. 326, 13 folios) and fixes the date of the author in the first half of the thirteenth century.

The editor also discusses the points of the *Alaṁkāradappaṇa's* resemblance of certain definitions and a few illustrations with Rudraṭa and then follows the list of 42 *Alaṁkāras*.

The text of the *Alaṁkāradappaṇa* contains 143 verses. The editor has given the text in transliterated form with translation in English of each verse (pp.7-36) and the bare text in Prakrit *(Devanāgarī)* (pp. 37-53). At the end of the book, the alphabetical list of *Alaṁkāras* alongwith their respective page numbers (according to the Prakrit text in *Devanāgarī*) is also appended.

Prof. Bhayani has contributed a new work in Prakrit Poetics with good English translation which is indeed important for the Indologists working in the field of Prakrit Poetics.

In view of the importance of the *Alaṁkāradappaṇa* as a text on Prakrit Poetics, every student, every scholar and every library of Prakrit studies should have the *Alaṁkāradappaṇa* at hand. We congratulate the learned editor and publisher for this small important book.

Oriental Institute, Vadodara **Milind Joshi**

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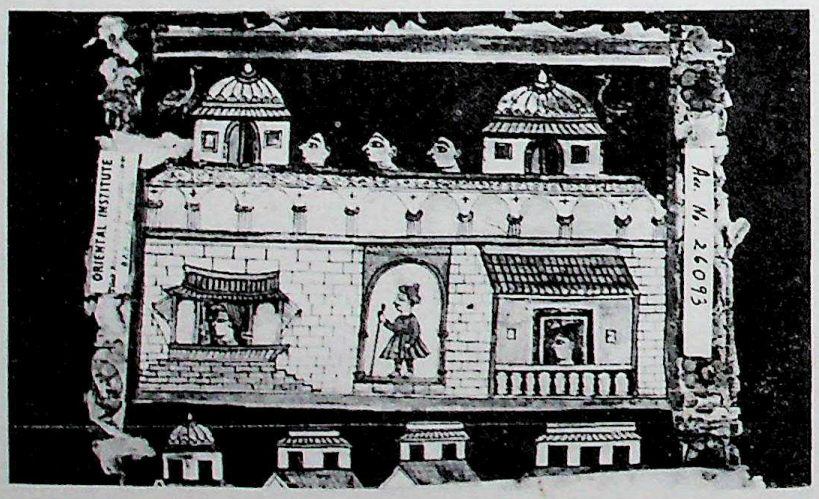

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